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THE HANDBOOK SERIES

DEBATERS' MANUAL

Compiled by
EDITH M. PHELPS

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EXPLANATORY NOTE

In this volume have been brought together materials that will be of use to the student or individual wishing to know how to prepare a debate or how to organize a debating society or league of debating organizations. While conforming to The Handbook Series in that it is largely a reprint of articles taken from a large number of sources, effort has been made to select those articles that describe the subject most clearly and concisely and, at the same time, give a fairly well-connected account of the various processes.

For convenience the work has been divided into two parts. In Part I have been put all the articles relating to the preparation of the individual debate. The articles have been selected so as to describe, in logical order, all the steps through which the debater must go: Selecting the question and defining the terms; analyzing to determine the main issues; collecting and recording evidence; selection and proper use of evidence—this includes a description of the forms of reasoning and fallacies; drafting the brief; preparing the argument from the brief; and practical suggestions for delivery and for the division of the work among the members of the debating team.

Part II is devoted to the organization and management of the debating society. In the articles included in this division are conveyed brief and valuable suggestions for organizing a society and drawing up its constitution; the management of the society, including a brief description of the more important rules of order; selecting of the teams; the coaching and judging of a debate. The latter half of Part II is given over to a description of various forms of inter-society debating organizations, with model constitutions.

For the benefit of those wishing to read more extensively on the subject, a list of books on debate and public speaking is appended to the book. There is also included, as Appendix B, a subject index to a large number of books and pamphlets containing bibliographies, briefs, arguments pro and con, reprints of selected articles, or reports of entire debates on questions of

importance. An effort has been made to include in this the bibliographies put out by the High School Debating Leagues, as far as these are available. Most of these books and reports are completely indexed, others for important subjects only. The object has been to get an up-to-date usable subject list rather than a complete one.

This subject index ought to be especially helpful to high school debaters in selecting topics for debate, and after having selected them, to obtain helpful material for the debate itself.

The compiler wishes to acknowledge her indebtedness to the authors from whose works material has been drawn for this volume, and to thank the publishers for their kind permission to reprint the selections.

E. M. PHELPS.

July 15, 1915.

EXPLANATORY NOTE FOR THE FOURTH EDITION

With this edition the Debaters' Manual has been transferred to The Handbook Series, since the series in which it was formerly included will eventually be discontinued. Parts I and II of the book are unchanged, but the Appendices have been thoroly revised, out-of-print material has been dropped except where still useful and to be found in many libraries, out-of-date subjects and references have been, in many cases, deleted, and much good recent material has been added.

September 5, 1922. E. M. PHELPS.

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DEBATERS' MANUAL

INTRODUCTION

DEFINITION AND IMPORTANCE OF ARGUMENTATION AND DEBATE

I. Definitions.—Argumentation is the art of persuading others to think or act in a definite way. It includes all writing and speaking which is persuasive in form. The salesman persuading a prospective customer to buy goods, the student inducing his fellow-student to contribute to the funds of the athletic association, the business or professional man seeking to enlarge his business and usefulness, and the great orator or writer whose aim is to control the destiny of nations, all make use of the art of argumentation to attain their various objects. These illustrations serve but to indicate the wide field of thought and action which this subject includes. Each instance in this broad field, which demands the use of the art of argumentation, is subject to the same general laws that govern the construction and presentation of formal arguments. Formal arguments may be either written or oral, but by far the greater benefit to the student of argumentation results from the delivery of oral arguments, for it is in this form that he will be most frequently called upon to use his skill.

Debating is the oral presentation of arguments under such conditions that each speaker may reply directly to the arguments of the opposing speaker. The debate is opened by the first speaker for the affirmative. He is then followed by the first speaker for the negative, each side speaking alternately until each man has presented his main speech. After all the main speeches have been delivered the negative opens the rebuttal. The speakers in rebuttal alternate negative and affirmative. This order gives the closing speech to the affirmative. . . .

[1] Ketcham, V. A. Theory and Practice of Argumentation and Debate. Chap. I. Copyright by The Macmillan Co. 1914.

A proposition in argumentation is the formal statement of a subject for debate. It begins with the word "Resolved,"—followed by the statement of the subject matter of the controversy, and worded in accordance with the rules laid down in the next chapter. In formal debate it is always expressed; as for example, "Resolved, That the Federal Government should levy a progressive income tax." In other forms of argumentation it may be only implied, as in the case of the salesman selling goods, the student soliciting subscriptions, the business man in arguing for consolidation, or the politician pleading for reform. Nevertheless, it is always advisable for the speaker or writer to have clearly in mind a definite proposition as a basis upon which to build his argument. The proposition for the salesman might be, "Resolved, that James Fox ought to buy a piano"; for the student solicitor, "Resolved, that George Clark ought to give ten dollars to the athletic fund"; for the business man, "Resolved, that all firms engaged in the manufacture of matches should consolidate"; and for the politician, "Resolved, that the tariff schedule on necessaries should be lowered." This framing of a definite, clear-cut proposition will prevent wandering from the subject and give to the argument the qualities of clearness, unity, and relevancy.

Referring to the definition with which this chapter opened the student should note that it defines argumentation as an art. While it is true that argumentation must be directed in accordance with scientific principles, and while it is also true that it has an intimate relation with the science of logic, yet it is primarily an art in which skill, tact, diplomacy, and the finer sensibilities must be utilized to their fullest extent. In this respect argumentation is an art as truly as music, sculpture, poetry, or painting. The successful debater must be master of this art if he hopes to convince and persuade real men to his way of thinking and thus to direct their action.

II. The Object of Argumentation.—The object of argumentation is not only to induce others to accept our opinions and beliefs in regard to any disputed matter, but to induce them to act in accordance with our opinions and beliefs. The end of argumentation is action. The form which this action is to take depends upon the nature of the disputed matter. It may be only an action of the mind resulting in a definite belief which will exert an influence in the world for good or evil. It may be

the desire of the one who argues to persuade his hearers to advocate his opinions and beliefs and thus spread his doctrines to many other individuals. It may be that some more decided physical action is desired, such as the casting of a vote, or the purchase of a certain article or commodity. It may be the taking up of arms against a state, race, or nation, or the pursuit of a definite line of conduct throughout the remainder of the life of the individual addressed. These and many other phases of action may be the objects of the debater.

III. Educational Importance of Argumentation.—From the standpoint of mental discipline no study offers more practical training than does argumentation. It cultivates that command of feeling and concentration of thought which keeps the mind healthily active. The value of this kind of mental exercise cannot be overestimated. Especially is it valuable when the arguments are presented in the form of a debate, in which the speaker is assigned to defend a definite position and must reply to attacks made on that position. Such work brings forth the best powers of mind possessed by the student. It cultivates quickness of thought, and the ability to meet men on their own ground and conduct a successful encounter on the battlefield of ideas.

Another faculty of mind which debating develops is tact in the selection and presentation of material. Since the object of debate is action, it is not enough that the speaker show his position to be the correct one. He must do more than this; he must make the hearer desire to act in accordance with that position. Otherwise the speaker will be in the same position as the savage who induces his fellows to conform to his ideas by the use of a club,—the moment the influence of the club is removed the subject immediately reverts to his former habits of thought and action. If you convince a man that he is wrong by the mere force of argument, he may be unable to answer your argument but he will feel like a man who has been whipped in a physical encounter—though technically defeated he still holds to his former opinions. There is much truth in the old saying that, "He who is convinced against his will is of the same opinion still." Therefore, the debater must do more than merely convince his hearer; he must persuade him. He must appeal to the reason, it is true, but he must also appeal to the emotions in such a way as to persuade his hearer to take some definite action in regard to the subject of dispute. Thus there are two things

which the debater must attempt—conviction and persuasion. If he convinces his reader without persuading him, no action is likely to follow. If he persuades his hearer by appealing to his emotions, the effect of his efforts will be short lived. Therefor, the debater must train himself to persuade his hearer to act in accordance with his wishes as well as to find reasons for such action and give them.

Finally, debating cultivates the ability to use clear and forcible language. Practice of this kind gives the student a wealth of expression and command of language which is not otherwise possible. The obligation to reply directly to one's opponents makes it necessary for the student to have such command of his material that he can make it apply directly to the arguments he has just heard.

The educational value of debating is greater than that of any other form of oral or written composition because it cultivates: (1) The command of feeling and concentration of thought which keep the mind healthily active, (2) The ability to state a clear-cut proposition, and to analyze it keenly by sifting the essential from the trivial, thus revealing the real point at issue, (3) The ability to find reasons and give them, (4) The power to state facts and conditions with that tact and diplomacy which success demands. (5) The power to persuade as well as to convince, (6) The power of clear and forcible expression. Certainly any subject which tends to develop these qualities ought to receive the most careful attention of the student.

IV. Practical Importance of Argumentation.—From the practical standpoint no study offers better preparation for the everyday affairs of life than does argumentation and debate. Success in life is largely a matter of reducing every situation to a definite, clear-cut proposition, analyzing that proposition or picking out the main points at issue, and then directing one's efforts to the solution of the problem thus revealed. To be more concrete: One young man accepts the first situation which is brought to his notice when he graduates, and stays in a mediocre position for years; another young man thinks carefully over the matter, picks out a place where he is most likely to succeed, and secures rapid promotion. Instances might be multiplied indefinitely to show the practical value of argumentative training. The man who is an expert in the use of argument holds the master key to success in all lines. It is an invaluable asset to

every one who has to deal with practical affairs. It matters not whether you are to address one individual or a thousand—whether you wish to persuade to a certain course of action, your employer, a committee, a board of directors, a town council, the senate of the United States, or an auditorium full of people, knowledge of the use and application of the rules of argumentation, and good training in the art of debate is a most valuable asset. The business world, the professional world, and the political world eagerly welcome the man who can think and who can effectively present his thoughts. In every business, in every profession, and in every department of government the skilled debater becomes the leader of men.

PART I

HOW TO PREPARE A DEBATE

I. Selecting the Proposition for Debate[1]

Questions to be Debated.—The questions which are selected for debating should be questions . . . the study of which will be of educational value to the student and they should be questions which concern the welfare of society, questions which have some bearing on present day problems. Such academic questions as "Was Hamlet insane?" should be avoided by a debating society; not that such a discussion would be unprofitable from the cultural standpoint; but because there are so many urgent problems of more present and vital importance which are pressing upon the citizen for solution. Among these problems may be mentioned such general questions as direct legislation, woman suffrage, questions of taxation, the land question, control of monopolies, immigration, municipal government and dozens of others. Whenever possible questions of local interest should be debated in preference to more remote questions. A great variety of such questions are furnished by the municipal and county problems which are constantly arising. "Shall the city of ——— own its lighting or water system?" "Shall manual training be established in certain schools?" "What provision shall be made for county roads?" "Shall the state assist in clearing logged-off lands?"—these are just a few of the many local problems that have to be solved. Select questions the solution of which would be a genuine benefit to society.

Undebatable Questions—A question which cannot be proved or disproved with reasonable conclusiveness should be avoided. One type of such questions is exemplified in the following proposition: "Resolved, That Washington was a greater man than Lincoln." The only result of attempting to debate such a proposition is the piling up by the two sides of facts showing

[1] Jones, L. Manual for Debaters. p. 34-6. Univ. of Wash. 1913.

the greatness of Washington and Lincoln without reaching any sound conclusion as to who was greater. Other questions which cannot be proved or disproved and which, therefore, are not suitable for debating are those of such a nature that one's opinion on them is entirely a matter of faith. Most religious questions would be included in this class. Still another type of undebatable questions are those on which one's attitude depends on personal tastes. Such a question as, "Is the poetry of Whittier more beautiful than that of Longfellow?" is an example.

Questions which have not a reasonable amount of proof on each side should not be debated. For instance, the questions, "Should misdemeanors be punishable by death?" and "Is grafting justifiable?" are not debatable questions because the argument is all on one side.

Wording the Question.—A great deal of care should be used in phrasing the proposition in order that the issue between the two sides may be clear and explicit. All propositions that allow a play of words should be avoided. The proposition, "Resolved, That law is a better profession than teaching" involves a question which is not only a matter of taste, but the term "better profession" for debating purposes is clearly ambiguous. No two persons would agree as to the standards by which the two professions should be judged, and the debate would resolve itself into a quibble over the meaning of the term "better profession." Only such language should be used in the wording of a proposition as is susceptible of but one interpretation. If it is impossible to word a proposition in this manner, the two contestants should agree before the debate on the exact interpretation of the proposition.

A proposition should not be stated in such a way as to beg the question. An example of a proposition which begs the question is: "Resolved, That the mistake made by the government in granting suffrage to the negro warrants the repeal of the fifteenth amendment." The word "mistake" begs the question.

The proposition should contain one and only one resolution. Double-headed propositions should not be debated. The proposition, "Resolved, That members of the United States Senate should be elected by a direct vote of the people, and should be at least forty years of age when elected," is a double-headed proposition. The question debated in 1912-13 by the high schools

of the state: "Resolved, That the state should continue the policy of constructing state roads and permanent highways with increasing appropriations therefor," is, strictly speaking, a double-headed question, the two propositions being: (1) The State should continue the policy of constructing state roads and permanent highways; (2) There should be increasing appropriations made for continuing this policy. Technically the negative could win by disproving either proposition. In this case, as in most cases of double-headed questions, the second proposition is added with a view of making a more evenly divided question.

The proposition should usually be stated affirmatively and not negatively. For instance, the proposition, "Resolved, That judges should be subject to popular recall," is preferable to the proposition, "Resolved, That judges should not be subject to popular recall," or, "Resolved, That judges should be exempt from popular recall." However, the last wording would be preferable if recall of judges had previously been adopted. The burden of proving the proposition should be clearly placed on the affirmative. If the proposition suggests a change in policy, the affirmative should be the side which argues for the change.

Long and involved propositions, besides leading to controversies over their interpretation, are exceedingly difficult for the judges and audience to grasp. The statement of the proposition should, therefore, be as brief and explicit as possible.

2. Analyzing the Proposition[1]

The Importance of Analysis

The subject for argument has been determined and it has been reduced to a satisfactory proposition. The next step is to analyze this proposition. It is well to consider first the importance of this analysis in order that its true value may be appreciated, and this preliminary step be not passed over hurriedly. Upon the success of the analysis depends in large measure the success of the argument. This is true because the analysis shows just what must be proved in order to sustain or overthrow the proposition. If the work has been done carefully the student

[1] Ketcham, V. A. Theory and Practice of Argumentation and Debate. Chap. III. Copyright by The Macmillan Co. 1914.

will have confidence in the solidity of his argument. He cannot feel secure if he suspects that his analysis is defective.

The question of analysis is not only of supreme importance in relation to a particular proposition for discussion, but it is also of the greatest importance in all the practical affairs of life. No mental quality is so necessary as the analytical habit of mind. Practically all the men whom history calls great have possessed in a large degree the habit of analyzing everything. Lincoln was in the habit of applying this analytic process not only to great affairs of state but to anything and everything which came beneath his notice. He analyzed the actions of his fellow men, the workings of a machine, the nature of moral principles, and the significance of political movements. He was continually penetrating to the point of things, visible and invisible, and laying it bare.

Everything which comes up for personal action should be analyzed and the vital point at issue determined. Nothing should be done blindly or in a spirit of trusting to luck or chance. Instead of voting as the majority seem to be voting in a class meeting, analyze the issue and vote according to the light revealed by that analysis. Instead of entering some business or profession blindly and in the hope that something will turn up, analyze the situation and determine rationally what ought to be done. For the right determination of these practical affairs no better preparation can be made than the careful analysis of propositions for debate.

ESSENTIAL STEPS IN ANALYSIS

1. A Broad View of the Subject.—In the first place the student must know something about the subject-matter of the proposition. If the question is of a local character and one with which he is familiar, the work of analysis may be begun at once. The proposition can be scrutinized, its exact meaning determined, and the proof for its establishment or overthrow decided upon. If the question be one with which the student is not familiar his first duty is to become acquainted in a general way with the subject-matter. He should carefully examine the proposition to see just what subject-matter is included and then consult someone familiar with its substance, or read some material which appears to treat the subject in a general way. Here confusion is likely to result if an attempt is made to

substitute reading for thinking. The mind of the investigator should be kept open, free, and independent. He should not allow the opinions of men, either oral or written, to cause him to depart from the precise wording of the proposition. His present object is to determine its limits, meaning and significance.

When a general knowledge of the subject has been acquired, sufficient to enable the student to reason about the question, he should next consider the origin and history of the question.

2. The Origin and History of the Question.—The meaning of a question must be determined in the light of the conditions which gave rise to its discussion. For this reason it is well to find out just how this question came to be a subject of debate. For example, the people of this country a few years ago were debating the proposition, "Resolved, that the Federal government should control all life insurance companies operating within the United States." To one unacquainted with the facts of the case at that time the proposition appears at first glance to lack point. Why should anyone want Federal control of insurance companies? What difference does it make as to who controls them or whether they are controlled at all? These questions are answered directly when we come to study the origin of the proposition. Until within a few months of the discussions no one had thought of debating this proposition. The insurance companies had always been under the control of the states in which they operated. Then suddenly it came to light that these companies were grossly mismanaged. Dishonesty had characterized the administration of their affairs. This served to cast grave doubt on the efficiency of state control. Therefore the stronger arm of the Federal government was suggested as a remedy for the evils which the states had been unable to prevent. The real heart of the controversy, which a study of the origin of the question revealed was, "Will the control of insurance companies by the Federal government be more efficient than that exercised by the state governments?" Thus the real point at issue was made clear through the origin of the question.

In the search for the main issues, the history of the question is often important. However, the tendency of the inexperienced debater is to dwell too long upon this part of the argument. Actual practice often reveals the fact that such a history causes the audience or reader to lose interest. This is especially true if its bearing on the argument is not immediately shown.

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The history of the question should, however, receive serious consideration, and any facts which bear directly upon its solution should be stated in brief and concise form. When the question has undergone a change because of shifting conditions, its history becomes especially important. Very often the original significance of a controversy becomes entirely changed by subsequent happenings. In such a case the history of the question should be resorted to for the purpose of finding out the changes through which the original dispute has passed and determining the exact issues involved at the present time.

3. Definition of Terms.—Before proceeding farther it is well to examine each word in the proposition. Now that a general idea of the significance of the proposition has been obtained, and the main point of the controversy reached through the study of the origin and history of the question, the task of defining terms may be undertaken in an intelligent manner.

Let it be understood at the outset that a dictionary definition is not satisfactory. A dictionary gives every meaning which can be attached to a given word and thus covers a broad, general field. But when a word is used in a proposition for debate it is used in a special and restricted sense. The meaning depends largely on the context of the proposition. The origin and history of the question, the meaning which expert writers on this particular subject have attached to the words, and the present conditions must be considered in determining the precise meaning of the terms.

The words of a proposition which need definition are very often so grouped that the meaning of a phrase or combination of words taken as a whole must be determined. Here it is plain that dictionary definitions, even if satisfactory in other respects, would be entirely inadequate. In the [following] question, "Resolved, that monopolies in restraint of trade should be regulated by Federal law," we find a necessity for the definition of both a term and a phrase. The term "regulate" may not in this instance be given the broad meaning which a dictionary definition attaches to it. We must first look at the context of the proposition in order to find out to what field of authority we should go for a proper definition.

The proposition specified regulation by Federal law: therefore we must go to the law for our definition of the term which indicates the action the law is to take. But even here we need not be

satisfied with the broad legal definition of the term "regulate." The field included by the question is obviously a commercial field. The agencies which would come under this regulation are for the most part engaged in interstate commerce. Therefore the power to regulate would be placed under that clause of the United States Constitution which expressly gives Congress the power to regulate commerce. We may then rely upon the definition which the courts have placed upon the term "regulate" when used in this connection. By consulting Black's "Constitutional Law," an eminent authority on this subject, we find that the power to "regulate" has never been held to include the power to destroy. This eliminates a possible meaning. By consulting some of the decisions of the United States courts in which this term has been defined, we are given to understand that to "regulate" commerce implies that "an intention to promote and facilitate it, and not to hamper or destroy it, is naturally to be attributed to Congress." (*Texas & P. R. Co.* v *Interstate Commerce Commission*, 162 U. S., 197; *Interstate Commerce Commission* v. *Alabama Midland Ry. Co.*, 74 Fed., 715). Therefore we are warranted in concluding that to "regulate" in this proposition means such control by the Federal law as will promote the best commercial interests of the country at large.

It is thus seen that both the definition of the term and the source from which it is taken are determined by the context of the proposition. If the context of the proposition shows that legal definitions are required, legal authorities must be consulted. If the context of the proposition shows that an economic definition is required, economic authorities should be consulted. In whatever field of knowledge the context of the proposition lies, the authoritative definitions generally accepted in these branches of learning should be consulted.

In defining the phrase "monopolies in restraint of trade" the student should consult the same class of authorities utilized in defining the term "regulate." The generally accepted definitions used by prominent writers may be relied upon with safety, since they are usually taken directly from authoritative reports and decisions.

One of the most important requisites of a definition is that it be reasonable. It must appear, in the light of all the circumstances of the case, to be the most obvious and natural definition which can possibly be produced. In no case must it appear that the

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speaker or writer has laboriously searched for a definition which will conform to his view of the proposition. Equally fatal is a highly technical definition which ignores its evident meaning. No trickery based upon a technicality should be tolerated. The definition presented must be so reasonable that everyone concerned (with the possible exception of one's opponents) will willingly admit its validity.

4. Narrowing the Question.—The next step in the analysis of the question is to narrow it down to the points which must be proved. Now that the meaning of the question is well understood this task ought not to be difficult. Nevertheless it demands the most earnest efforts of the student. There are two steps in this process, (*a*) Excluding irrelevant matter, (*b*) Admitting matters not vital to the argument.

(*a*) *Excluding Irrelevant Matter.*—The first task is to cut away all surplusage. The proposition as it now stands, should be closely examined in order to determine just what must be proved. Neither the affirmative nor the negative should undertake the burden of proving more than is necessary. In the discussion of the proposition "Resolved, That Prohibition is preferable to High License," it is not necessary for the affirmative to prove that temperance is a virtue. The task before these debaters is to show only that prohibition is preferable to high license as a method of dealing with the liquor traffic. It is not necessary for the negative to attempt to prove that temperance is not a virtue; their task is to show only that high license is preferable to prohibition. It is true that temperance as an abstract virtue is very closely related to the subject-matter of the proposition, but it is not one of the real points at issue. When the question has been narrowed down to the method of dealing with the liquor traffic, each side may prove this point in the way which appears most effective. Each may assert that its method of control is preferable because theory and practice show it to be better for (*a*) social, (*b*) political, and (*c*) economic reasons. Any other division of the subject which seems effective may be adopted.

It is evident from the above illustration that certain matters which are relevant to the general subject should be eliminated in order that the audience may understand just what must be proved. Everything that is not relevant to the proposition as stated should be excluded.

(*b*) *Admitting Matters not Vital to the Argument.*—Since

the debater should not attempt to prove more than is necessary he should admit, in the beginning, such matters as may be admitted without detriment. Great care should be exercised at this point; nothing should be admitted the full bearing and significance of which the debater does not understand. Only matters which may be admitted with safety should be included. Otherwise an opponent may seize upon the admitted matter and turn it to his own advantage. Furthermore, the language used in making an admission should be carefully guarded lest an opponent ingeniously attach to it a meaning which was not intended.

With these cautions in mind it is well to continue the process of narrowing the question by admitting matters not vital to the argument. These admissions should be made in the beginning in order that they may appear in their true light as free admissions. For example, in the last question discussed both sides may safely admit that neither plan will wholly eliminate intemperance. The object is to adopt the plan which will minimize the effect of this evil. In the question, "Resolved, that physical valuation of the property of a corporation is the best basis for fixing taxation values," the affirmative may safely admit that no basis for fixing taxation values will work-absolute justice to all tax-payers. This places the affirmative speakers in position to make plain to their hearers that the method advocated will come nearer to the goal of absolute justice than any other plan. In advocating any reform it is usually best to admit that it is not a cure-all for existent evils, but that it will remedy such evils to a greater extent than any other measures.

In conclusion, it is well to remember that these admissions and exclusions should be made plain rather than elaborate. They should be stated in the introduction of the argument with such brevity and clearness that the audience will realize that it is being led directly to the vital issues.

5. Contrasting the Affirmative Arguments with Those of the Negative.—Thus far we have been concerned with finding out the vital point at issue. It is here that the term question is most aptly applied to the proposition for debate, because when this vital point is revealed it is always found to appear in the form of a question. To be more specific, we found that in analyzing the proposition, "Resolved, That the Federal Government should control all life insurance companies operating

within the United States," the vital point at issue as revealed by a study of the origin of the question was "Will the control of insurance companies by the Federal Government be more efficient than that exercised by the State Governments?" This treatment reveals the main point at issue in the form of a question. It shows that the issue is between State control on one side as compared with Federal control on the other. The affirmative must advocate Federal control and the negative must defend State control. The burden of proof is on the affirmative, for it must show that a change should be made in existing conditions. The risk of non-persuasion is upon the affirmative, because, if the position advocated cannot be maintained, existing conditions will continue.

It is well to remember that the burden of proof remains with the affirmative throughout the debate. It is frequently said that the burden of proof "shifts," that is, that when the affirmative has produced enough evidence to make out a *prima facie* case, and has shown reason why the plan ought to be adopted, then the burden of proof shifts to the negative and it becomes the duty of the negative to show why the plan should not be adopted. This is not the correct view of the situation, for the affirmative is bound to prove the proposition, in the face of all opposition. Therefore the burden of proof never "shifts," it is the duty of producing evidence which "shifts." When the affirmative shows reason why the proposition should be maintained, it puts upon the negative the duty of producing evidence to show that the affirmative reasoning is unsound or that there are more weighty arguments in favor of the negative. Thus it is that the duty of producing evidence shifts from one side to the other, but the burden of proof remains on the same party throughout the discussion.

The question upon which the debate hinges must be answered in one way by one side and in just the opposite way by the opponents of that side. In the question above referred to, "Will the control of insurance companies by the Federal Government be more efficient than that exercised by the State Governments?" the affirmative must answer "Yes" and the negative must answer "No."

At this point the next task of the analyst begins. He must determine the main reasons why the affirmative should answer "Yes" and the negative should answer "No." These main reasons when discovered and contrasted, those on the affirmative with

those on the negative, will reveal the main issues of the proposition. When these are found the process of analysis is completed.

In undertaking the task of contrasting the affirmative contentions with those of the negative, the student must assume an absolutely unbiased attitude toward the proposition. The importance of this impartial viewpoint cannot be too strongly emphasized. To be able to view any subject with a mind free from prejudice is a most valuable asset.

With this proper mental attitude toward the proposition the analyst must take up both sides of the question and find the main arguments in support of each. He should not be deluded into thinking that it is only necessary to study one side of the question. A lawyer in preparing his case always takes into consideration the position of his opponent. In fact, so important is this task that many lawyers develop their antagonist's case before beginning work on their own, and it frequently happens that more time is devoted to arguments of the opposition than to the case upon which the lawyer is engaged. This careful study of an opponent's arguments must always be included in the work of the debater, not only in the analysis of the question but throughout the entire argumentative process.

The way in which this part of the analytical process should be carried out is best made plain by a concrete example. We will take the proposition "Resolved, That immigration into the United States should be further restricted by law." The origin of the question is found in the alarm shown by some people over the large number of undesirable foreigners coming to our shores. The question is "Should any of the immigrants now coming to our shores be prohibited from coming?" The affirmative say "Yes," and the negative, "No." Now to take the impartial viewpoint, why should there be any further restriction of immigration; why should the affirmative say "Yes" and the negative "No"? One of the chief affirmative arguments is that some of these immigrants are having a bad effect upon our country. Some of them are anarchists; some are members of criminal societies such as the Black Hand; some group by themselves in certain portions of large cities and form what are known as "Little Germanys," "Little Spains," "Little Italys," etc.; some have contagious diseases; some have a very low standard of living and thus tend to drag down the standard of living of the American workman; some are illiterate and do not make good citizens; some are

easily made the dupes of city bosses and ward "heelers" and thus exert a harmful influence in our political affairs. These and various other reasons may be brought to support the affirmative argument that immigration is having a bad effect upon our country.

In considering the matter carefully we come to the conclusion that these are the chief reasons why immigration should be further restricted. Now, the unskilled debater would probably be content with framing these reasons into an argument and would proceed with a feeling that his position was impregnable. The skilled debater, however, does not feel content until he has viewed the whole subject impartially. Why do we not have more stringent immigration laws? It must be that the present laws are thought to be satisfactory. Why are they satisfactory? It must be because they now exclude the worst class of immigrants. Upon investigation we find this to be true. Let us look at the problem from a slightly different point of view. Why do we allow all of these immigrants to come in? They must be necessary to our welfare. They are necessary to develop the natural resources of our country; they add to the national power of production, they possess a money value as laborers; they ultimately become American citizens, and their children, educated in our public schools, become the most ardent of young Americans.

The above reflections from the standpoint of the negative lead us to ask a few questions which must be answered before we can answer the main question upon which the proposition hinges, namely: "Should any of the immigrants now coming into the United States be prohibited from coming?" These questions are, so far as we have been able to determine: "Are the present immigration laws satisfactory?" "Do we need all the immigrants now coming to us?" "Do the immigrants now coming to us have a bad effect upon our country?" These questions if answered "Yes" will establish the affirmative, and likewise if answered "No" will establish the negative. We may therefore conclude that these three questions contain the main issues of the proposition. The issues may be stated in different forms, but, if resolved to their essential elements, they will ultimately be found in these three questions.

The next step in contrasting the arguments is to write them down in such form that corresponding arguments can be set over against each other. For convenience we adopt the following form:

PROPOSITION—Immigration should be further restricted by law.

Affirmative argument	*Negative argument*
Immigration should be further restricted, because	Immigration should not be further restricted, because
I. It is a detriment to the country, for	I. It is a benefit to the country, for
1. We now admit extreme socialists and anarchists.	1. The worst elements are now excluded.
2. They form undesirable groups of foreigners in the congested parts of cities.	2. They are soon assimilated.
3. They lower the standard of living of the American workman.	3. They furnish examples of thrift to American workmen.
4. Many of the immigrants now admitted do not **make good citizens.**	4. They ultimately become **good citizens.**
II. The present laws are not satisfactory, for	II. The present laws are satisfactory, for
1. **Black Hand societies show** that undesirable persons are admitted.	1. No law would exclude all undesirable immigrants.
2. Diseased persons are admitted.	2. All persons having contagious diseases are excluded.
3. Steamship lines help to evade the immigrant laws.	3. **Custom house officials are diligent in enforcing the** laws.
4. Paupers are admitted.	4. Paupers are not admitted.
III. We do not need all the immigrants now coming to us, for	III. We need all the immigrants now coming to us, for
1. The great necessity for laborers to develop our natural resources has passed.	1. We need them to develop our natural resources.

By contrasting the arguments thus tabulated we derive the following main issues.

I. Is immigration under existing conditions a detriment or a benefit to the country?
   (The answer depends upon the answers to these subordinate questions.)
   1. **Is the undesirable element excluded?**
   2. **Have the immigrants assimilated readily?**
   3. Do they exert a detrimental influence upon the standard of living of the American workman?
   4. Do they make good citizens?

II. **Are the present laws satisfactory?**
   1. **Are they the most effective in excluding undesirable immigrants that it is possible to enact?**
   2. **Do they exclude diseased persons?**
   3. **Do the present laws exclude paupers?**
   4. **Are the present laws enforced?**

III. **Do we need all the immigrants now coming to us?**
   1. **Do we still need all the immigrants we can get to develop our natural resources?**

This arrangement of the affirmative and negative arguments places the whole matter, so far as it has been worked out, before the student in tangible form. It also affords a basis for the formal statement of the main isues. The plan of analysis thus set forth should now be examined with a critical eye. Here arise some of the most difficult problems of argumentation. In the first place, is the analysis presented an exhaustive one? Does it include the entire field of argument. It includes the proposed immigration laws and their probable effects. It includes the present laws and their effects. From these two facts it is evident that the analysis covers the entire field of the proposed change in the immigration laws.

Before passing final judgment upon the thoroughness of the analysis, there are at least two other plans which may be applied to the question to see whether either of them will afford a better method of treatment than the foregoing. The first of these plans includes the division of the question into three parts; viz. (1) political, (2) social, and (3) economic. An examination of the question just discussed will show that all the material suggested in the formal analysis could be grouped under one or the other of these heads. For example, the anarchists, Black Hand societies, etc., would come under "political"; the question of assimilation would come under "social"; while the effect upon the American workman and the question of the development of our natural resources would come under "economic."

This division may be applied to many questions, but it is well suited to only a limited number. In fact, some eminent authorities are of the opinion that it is almost never to be recommended. It is not as well adapted to the immigration question as the division already made, for the reason that it would be necessary to include some of the subject-matter under two separate heads. For example, the Little Spains, Little Italys, etc., mentioned above, might require treatment under the social and political divisions

and even under the heading of economics. This is objectionable, because it requires a duplication of the statement of facts under each head, and also because it is not conducive to the clean, clear-cut thinking which is the result of a sharp division of the subject into parts which do not overlap.

The second plan of analysis, which forms a good working basis for many propositions, is that of dividing the subject into three parts, namely, (1) Necessity, (2) Practicability, and (3) Justice. This division of the subject is often applicable to propositions which advocate the adoption of some new plan of action, as, "Resolved, That the Federal Government should levy a progressive inheritance tax," or "Resolved, That cities of the United States, having a population of over 5000, should adopt the commmission form of government."

These and similar questions may be analyzed by one of the two plans stated above, but it is well to beware adopting one or the other of these methods merely because it affords an easy way out of the task of analyzing the proposition. That analysis of a question should be adopted which reveals the main issues of the proposition in the clearest and most direct manner.

SUMMARY OF ESSENTIAL STEPS IN ANALYSIS

1. A broad view of the subject.
2. **The origin and history of the question.**
3. **Definition of terms.**
4. **Narrowing the question.**
   - (1) **Excluding irrelevant matter.**
   - (2) **Admitting matters not vital to the argument.**
5. Contrasting the affirmative arguments with those of the negative.

THE MAIN ISSUES

The process of analysis with which we are dealing has revealed the main issues of the proposition. It now becomes the duty of the debater to arrange the issues in logical and climactic order. The most forcible array of argument should come at the end. For example, in the question just analyzed the logical as well as the climactic order of arrangement for the main issues of the affirmative would be as follows:

I. The present laws are not satisfactory.

II. We do not need all the immigrants now coming to us.

III. Immigration (under the present system) is a detriment to the country.

This analysis should be the result of a thorough study of both sides of the whole proposition. If the task has been well done no change in the essential elements of the analysis will become necessary. However, as the investigation of the subject progresses, and the work of collecting evidence leads the student into a more intimate acquaintance with the proposition, it may be found advisable to make some alterations in the analysis first written out. Such alterations should be made only after careful deliberation, for it often happens that, in investigating a subject at close range, one loses the broad general view which is necessary to an intelligent analysis. It may even become necessary for a beginner to change his entire plan after he has made a more thorough investigation of the subject. In such an event the work originally spent in analysis should not be regarded as lost, because it is absolutely necessary that the student have some definite plan as a basis for his investigation. If it does no more than show him that he is wrong, the time spent on it cannot be said to be wasted. In any event, the student should keep his mind open for the reception of ideas which will make his analysis clearer, briefer, and more forcible.

3. Evidence

a. Collecting and Recording Material for Evidence

After the question has been analyzed and the main issues determined, the next step is to obtain material by which to prove the truth or falsity of the arguments that have been revealed by the analysis. In the work that the student has already done he has obtained a great deal of information. It is necessary, however, to study the question exhaustively in order that every possible bit of information may be secured that will assist in proving his side of the question or in refuting the arguments of his opponents. The material required for such proof is termed evidence.

SOURCES OF EVIDENCE

The first question that naturally arises in the mind of the debater is "where may evidence be obtained?"

First of all the debater should examine his own mind to determine just how much he really knows about the subject

and should set down every fact and argument which he can discover, being careful, however, to distinguish between what is exact knowledge and what is mere conjecture. He should also talk the subject over with his friends. It is also practicable to solicit the opinions of men and women who are known to be especially interested in the question for debate and who are in a position to have special knowledge concerning it. Personal letters and interviews, when backed up by the names of people who are really authoritative on the subject, form valuable evidence.

By far the larger part of the evidence, however, must be obtained from the reading of many books, pamphlets and magazine articles on the subject. The most practical and economical debate, debaters' handbooks and similar sources contain bibliography. This should be put on cards—3x5 cards are most often used—and only one reference should be put on each card. For such a bibliography the student may consult the following sources:

Special Bibliographies.—It is often found that bibliographies have been prepared on the subject chosen for debate. The Library of Congress makes a practice of publishing bibliographies on special subjects which are obtainable from the superintendent of documents. A list of them may be secured from the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. Many of the manuals for debate, debaters' handbooks and similar sources contain bibliographies of up-to-date subjects. A great many of these are listed in Appendix II at the close of this volume.

General Bibliographies.—For a list of books and pamphlets the United States Catalog, Books in Print, 1912, the Supplements, 1912-1921 and current numbers of the Cumulative Book Index from 1921 to date, the A. L. A. Booklist subject index, and the Book Review Digest should be consulted. The card catalogs in the public and other libraries will also reveal books and pamphlets on the subject. For magazine articles the student should consult the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, five-year cumulations and current subscription, from 1900 to date. Other magazine indexes are the International Index to Periodicals (formerly the Readers' Guide Supplement), 1907 to date, and the Magazine Subject Index, 1907 to date. If the subject is of a legal nature, references may be found in the Index to Periodicals, 1913 to date. The Industrial Arts Index, 1913 to date, will

furnish magazine references on subjects of an industrial nature. For articles in periodicals published prior to 1900, consult Poole's Abridged Index, 1815-1899.

GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS.—Often discussions occur in Congress on up-to-date subjects and the reports of these discussions may be found in the Congressional Record. An index is issued to each volume in which speeches and discussions will be found listed under name of speaker, subject, or by the number of the bill to which they refer. The other publications of Congress are issued in six groups, Senate Documents, Senate Miscellaneous, Senate Reports (of committees), and likewise, House Documents, House Miscellaneous and House Reports. These may be found in the Document Index issued for each session of Congress, or in the monthly Catalog of U. S. Public Documents, put out by the superintendent of documents, Washington, D. C.

MISCELLANEOUS MATERIAL.—Oftentimes there are organizations existing for the purpose of promoting a special question or issue, and from these organizations much valuable material can often be obtained. For instance, material on immigration may be secured from the National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation of New York City. Material on the peace question may be obtained from the World Peace Foundation. In addition to these sources, there are many miscellaneous sources of information, as encyclopedias, dictionaries, year books and statistical almanacs which will reveal much valuable information in the way of facts and figures.

After the bibliography has been prepared the student should set about the reading of the material. Often the mass of material is voluminous and it is necessary that he select carefully in order not to waste his time. Some of the articles will be shown to be worthless at a glance. Some of them are irrelevant, others so stupid as not to be worth reading. These should be discarded at once. The student should not read hastily, merely to cover the ground, but every article should be thoroughly studied. William Trufant Foster says:[1]

> Make your reading, not a process of indiscriminate accumulation of evidence, good or bad, but a conscious, intelligent selective process. Read critically. Challenge the writer at every turn. Is he fair? Is he accurate? Is he consistent? Is he careless? Is he competent? Is he prejudiced? Does he exaggerate? Has anything happened since the article was written

[1] Essentials of Exposition and Argument. p. 31.

to make the author's conclusions false? Long periods of continued reflection bear much fruit. Frequent discussion with debating colleagues and other friends may result in clarifying a hazy problem.

It is necessary that the debater read not only the material on his side of the subject but that of his opponent's also. Part of his argument will consist of the refutation of arguments put forth on the opposing side. He must know not only what are the arguments his opponents will put forth but just what evidence he must use to break them down. He must also know what evidence the opposing side will use to tear down his own arguments, in order to be able to prove his own side most effectively.

The search for facts and arguments should continue up to the last day of the debate. The student should not feel prepared until he has investigated every bit of evidence that may be of use in preparing his own side or in destroying the arguments of his opponents.

As he reads it is necessary to test the evidence. He should distinguish in the first place between undisputed facts which are acceptable to both sides and disputed facts which must depend upon their source for authoritativeness. He should guard against using statements which have not a sufficient authority back of them to provide for their acceptance by the opposing side. In his reading the debater should see that the statements quoted from authorities are quoted first hand and exactly as stated. Error is liable to creep into statements made by second-hand authorities.

RECORDING THE EVIDENCE

As the student reads he should make full and accurate notes of all material found that is likely to prove valuable for evidence. When an article contains a good point for or against a given argument, the gist of the article should be noted down as clearly and concisely as possible. Statistics should be tabulated. When men or women of authority give an opinion, this should be quoted. Care should be taken in noting evidence that it be transcribed accurately. Figures should be compared with the original source to make sure no errors have crept in. Quotations should be copied word for word as originally uttered, enclosed in quotation marks, and the full source of the quotation, author, volume and page should be added.

The most convenient record for notes is the 3x5 card. These cards are easily obtainable and are of a convenient size for handling, both in the work of preparing the debate and on the platform. They are also easy to file and can be very easily preserved for future reference.

In using the cards care should be taken to put one point only on each card. At the head of the card should be put the argument or subject covered by this particular bit of evidence. At the bottom should be given the source from which the article is taken. The body of the card is thus reserved for evidence itself which should be copied in a clear, concise manner and should be exact.

As far as possible, only one card should be made for each point. Otherwise the evidence becomes scattered. If, however, it is necessary to make more than one card, all the cards containing evidence on a single point, should be fastened together, or linked by a system of numbering, A1, A2, etc.

By having but one point only on the card, the cards can be arranged in order of the arguments to be used and can be shifted to meet any change in order that may prove desirable. Arranged in this manner, they really present the whole argument in its proper order, and the brief can be developed very easily from the cards.

The debater will find, as he proceeds, with his reading that he has taken several times the amount of evidence that he will be able to use. This is inevitable. He will find, however, that some evidence is duplicated or is comparatively valueless and can be dropped out. Other evidence that cannot be used in the main speech will be valuable in rebuttal.

The following rules laid down by William Trufant Foster may profitably be adopted by every student as the most convenient method of procedure in the reading for and recording of evidence.

TAKING NOTES OF EVIDENCE[1]

In taking notes of evidence, it is advisable to observe the following rules:

1. Use cards or sheets of paper of uniform size, and write only on one side.

[1] Essentials of Exposition and Argument, p. 33.

2. Place on one card or one sheet of paper only evidence relating to a single sub-topic.

3. Quote from the original sources unless you are forced to use a second-hand source.

4. Take few notes until you have defined the question, and secured a general idea of the controversy and a tentative set of issues.

5. Select those words which bear most cogently and tersely on the point at issue.

6. In making note of material for refutation, state exactly the argument to be refuted.

7. Always make an exact reference to the source at the time when you make note of evidence.

8. References to sources should, as a rule, specify author, title, date, edition, volume, and page.

9. Quote exactly, and use quotation marks.

10. Indicate omissions by means of dots, thus: . . .

11. When you supply your own words inside a quotation, inclose them in brackets, [thus].

12. Indicate at the top of each card the main subject or issue to which the evidence relates, and the sub-topic.

13. Employ a definite system in arranging your evidence.

14. Take more notes than you think you can possibly use. Only the fittest will survive.

b. How to Estimate and Present the Evidence[1]

KINDS OF EVIDENCE

Broadly speaking, there are two kinds of evidence, *testimonial* and *circumstantial,* sometimes called, respectively, *direct* and *indirect* evidence.

Testimonial evidence is the statements of witnesses as to facts, and the opinions of authorities recognized as specialists in their line. It may be either oral or in writing. If the question should arise as to whether or not a certain student should be barred from the football team for rough playing, the statements of persons who saw the student play, would be testimonial evidence of the oral kind. A statement in a report of the Com-

[1] Gislason, H. B. Effective Debating. p. 17-27. Univ. of Minn. 1914.

missioner of Immigration to the effect that 850,000 immigrants from Europe entered the United States in 1910, would be written testimonial evidence as to a fact. All such statements as to facts from reports, books, pamphlets, magazine articles, etc., are illustrations of written testimonial evidence.

If La Follette, during the course of an address, were to say that the caucus system in Congress should be abolished, that would be recognized generally as the opinion of an authority on a subject of which he has special knowledge.

Were Samuel Gompers to state editorially in the American Federationist that he believed a separate labor party in the United States would best advance the cause of labor in this country, such a statement would be generally recognized as the opinion of an authority on that subject, and would be written testimonial evidence of the second kind. Statements of *opinions*, in the form of quotations from books, magazines, encyclopedias, dictionaries, etc., are examples of testimonial evidence of this class.

Circumstantial evidence has been defined as reasoning from facts. For example, driving along the road, we see in an adjoining field a buggy turned over, the tongue broken, and parts of the whiffletrees at some distance. We *reason* from these facts that there has been a runaway. From the report of the Commissioner of Immigration we find that the races of southeastern Europe are coming to the United States in large numbers. If it can be shown that a large number of these people are illiterate, that they gather mostly in the big cities, and that from them are recruited to a great extent the criminal and pauper classes, we should be justified in inferring from these facts that a literacy test, requiring all immigrants to be able to read and write in some language, would be a good thing.

The following quotations illustrate the two kinds of evidence:

Testimonial Evidence—

Some of the simpler forms recommended by the Simplified Spelling Board merit adoption. More than one half are preferred by Webster's dictionary, more than six tenths are preferred by the Century dictionary, and two thirds are preferred by the Standard dictionary. Nearly all the rest are allowed by all three dictionaries as alternative spellings in good usage. And if the authority of the dictionaries is not sufficient, why not accept the authority of the greatest names in English literature? The appearance of the simpler forms, blest, dropt, stept, stopt, and the like, in the works of Spenser, Shakespeare, Jonson, Bacon, Raleigh, and the

rest, was no innovation but was the accepted usage of the age. Besides the forms mentioned in the list, Spenser has askt, laught, purchast, and the like in endless profusion. Shakespeare has similar forms on every page of the original texts. Ben Jonson (in his Workes, 1616) has checkt, dismist, lockt, and the like. Milton, Fuller, Bunyan, Cowley, Butler, Dryden, Addison, Pope, Thomson, Goldsmith, and all their contemporaries use similar forms, as do such modern writers as Scott, Keats, Lamb, Landor and Tennyson. Surely the common or frequent use of a spelling by nearly all the standard authors justifies its acceptance or resumption by present writers.—Foster. Argumentation and Debating. p. 55.

Circumstantial Evidence—

The anomalies and perversities of English spelling call loudly for simplification. There is a widespread conviction that the English language, in its progress toward becoming an international language, is hampered by this one thing—its intricate and disordered spelling, which makes it a puzzle to the stranger within our gates and to the stranger beyond the seas. It is a burden to every writer of English. It wastes much of the time, money, and energy expended in the instruction of our children. Moreover, the printing, typewriting, and handwriting of the useless letters which encumber our spelling waste every year millions of dollars. Since, then, the reasonable and gradual simplification of our spelling will aid the spread of English, with the attendant advancement of commerce, of democratic ideals, and of intellectual and political freedom; will economize the time of our school children and make their work more efficient, and will in numerous other ways economize both time and money, this reform should commend itself to common sense, to patriotism, and to philanthropy.—Foster. Argumentation and Debating. p. 56.

I. TESTIMONIAL EVIDENCE

How to Judge Testimonial Evidence.—The larger part of most arguments is based on testimonial evidence. Of the numberless questions that invite discussion, few people have any first-hand knowledge, that is, knowledge based on their own observation. We are therefore forced to depend on the record of other people's observation and the conclusions they have reached on the basis of those observations. It becomes obviously important, then, that we shall be able to appreciate the strength and weakness of any given piece of testimonial evidence. Before we can properly value any statement of opinion, the following tests should be applied:

(1) *What special knowledge of the question is the authority known to possess?* On the basis of this one test alone, the value of evidence may vary from virtually nothing to something that approaches conclusiveness. Suppose the question is whether or not immigration should be restricted by a literacy test. The mere opinion of the ordinary person with no special knowledge

of the question approaches zero in value. The opinion of a college professor may be worth something, its value depending on the opportunities he has had of investigating the question. With no special knowledge, his opinion is not worth much. If he has for ten, fifteen, or twenty years made the subject a special study, as has Edward Steiner the subject of immigration, his opinions are worth a great deal. Probably the weightiest piece of evidence that could be given on the question of restricting immigration by a literacy test, is the recommendation of a committee appointed by Congress in 1907, consisting of three senators, three house members, and three eminent economists. This commission spent three years in their investigation, inquiring into conditions both in Europe and America. The report filled forty-two volumes. One of their specific recommendations was a literacy test. Such a recommendation has tremendous weight, and if it is so presented as to make the audience feel the weight of it, it is not an easy matter to overcome it. The value of such evidence lies in the fact that the authorities had unusual opportunities to investigate the question and get a sufficiently broad view of it to support a sound conclusion.

It is well to avoid quoting indiscriminately opinions that have little to recommend them but the fact that the men holding them are in the public eye. The fact that a man is well known does not make him an authority on all subjects. Unless it can be shown that he is a student of the question, has some knowledge of it, his opinion is not worth much. Debating teams often write letters to these public men, asking for their opinions on the question to be debated, with a view to quoting such opinions in the debate. That kind of evidence is *prohibited* in many intercollegiate debates. It is, for instance, ruled out by the constitution of the Central Debating Circuit of America, which is made up of five of the state universities of the Middle West The objection to such evidence is that off hand opinions are worth very little, and that leading questions are often asked in such leters, the effect being to represent unfairly the views of the writer.

(2) *Is the authority prejudiced?* Just as *thorough knowledge of the question* is the one most important consideration that *gives weight* to an opinion, so *prejudice* is likely to be the one most important consideration that *detracts from its value.* Most people see things through the eye-glass of their own interests

and come to conclusions correspondingly colored. The tendency for all is to hold opinions that are convenient rather than those that are correct. A farmer who finds that a costly gravelled highway, built largely at the expense of the state and county, will run by the side of his farm, is quite sure that it was laid out in the very best manner possible; while another farmer, three miles distant from this costly road, is unable to see the wisdom of it so clearly. No one who has heard the testimony of witnesses in a court of law can have failed to observe at what different angles different witnesses see the same facts. The angle between the line of probable truth and the line of vision is usually the angle of prejudice.

The extent to which prejudice may bind even educated people is well illustrated by an editorial that appeared in an Omaha paper during the presidential campaign of 1911. One of the editors of this Republican paper, not knowing that the plank criticized was actually one in the platform of his own party, severely criticized one of the planks in the Republican platform. So completely was this editor color-blinded by partisan feeling that what ordinarily would have appeared pure white, through the lens of party prejudice looked slaty-gray, if not coal-black.

It requires discriminating judgment to make proper allowance for the peculiar interests that influence people. The testimony of the president of a steamship company to the effect that subsidies were needed by his line for a certain kind of service, is likely to be highly colored. The opinions of labor leaders that the literacy test should be applied to immigrants must be discounted, for they are naturally interested in artificially restricting the labor supply. The statement of a mayor elected under the commission form of government to the effect that the commission form of government has been successful in his city, can hardly be accepted at its face value without corroboration. The weight of an authority, or the value of a particular piece of evidence frequently becomes an issue in a debate, and the skilful debater will use only such authorities as he is prepared to defend.

(3) The two tests just given will determine with fair accuracy the weight to be given an authority in a debate. There are other tests to be applied especially to witnesses as to facts. It goes without saying that the testimony of a witness must be consistent with itself, with human experience, and with other

known facts in the case. The testimony of a witness, given reluctantly, is usually regarded as trustworthy, as is testimony given against the interest of the witness. Perhaps the most important thing to consider, in addition to the two main tests, is whether the audience is likely to *accept* the authorities quoted. The same authorities do not always have the same weight with different audiences. The opinions of such men as La Follette, Bryan, and Brandeis, have more weight with audiences in the Northwest than they have in the East. The opinions of Taft, Senator Lodge, and Cannon have more weight in the East than they have in the Northwest. The opinions of the latter would have more weight with audiences composed largely of business men, while that of the former would be likely to have more weight with popular audiences. In a debate on federal incorporation of interstate corporations before a popular audience in the Northwest, it would therefore be significant to show that La Follette and Brandeis strongly oppose federal incorporation, while it would be of doubtful value for the other side to show that Taft and former Attorney-General Wickersham favor it.

The point is, use authorities that your audience will accept. *The acceptance of an authority by the audience is the final test from which there is no appeal.*

How to Present Testimonial Evidence.—Having selected the best evidence available, the debater should next present it in such a manner as to make the audience appreciate the value of it. The opinion of an investigating commission may be worth a hundred times as much as that of a magazine writer, and the speaker may know it, and yet present the two in such a way as to have them make about the same impression on an audience. It is not uncommon to hear authorities quoted in debates about whom the audience knows little or nothing. To use the opinion of a man who is unknown to the audience, without informing them as to what right the man has to testify on the question, is practically a waste of time. To quote a weighty authority, without making clear the weight of it, is even worse.

It should be borne in mind that the aim of an argument is to influence human minds. To use an illustration from Beecher, it is not to be regarded as a Chinese firecracker, to be fired off for the noise it makes. Every bit of evidence should make a definite impression. To say, "Mr. Smith, writing in the North

American Review, says so and so," makes very little impression, unless the hearers are informed who Mr. Smith is, what knowledge he has of the question, and what qualification he has, in general, for giving an opinion. It is not enough to say, "The committee of the House of Commons, appointed to investigate shipping subsidies, recommend that no general subsidies be given." To quote the commission effectively, it should be made plain what was the personnel of the commission, what witnesses testified before it, how thorough an investigation was made, and how voluminous the report. It will add much to the weight of the recommendations of such a commission if it be made known to the audience that the inquiry of the commission is perhaps the most extensive ever made into shipping subsidies, covering as it does the subsidy policies of the leading nations of the world.

(1) Never quote an unknown authority without giving proper explanation as to who the writer is, and why you regard his opinion as worth something.

(2) When you present what you think is a strong piece of evidence, be sure you make your hearers understand why it is strong.

II. CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE

How to Estimate Circumstantial Evidence.—Circumstantial evidence has been defined as reasoning from facts. From the fact that a large number of towns and cities have tried the commission form of government and found it in the main satisfactory, we conclude that the city of M——— would find it satisfactory. It is reasoning from facts already known to an unknown conclusion.

There are, broadly speaking, three kinds of arguments based on circumstantial evidence: (1) argument from *generalization*, (2) argument from *analogy*, and (3) argument *based on causal relationship*.

Argument from Generalization

Suppose we have observed that wheat sown in southern Minnesota after May 5 always yields a poor return. Suppose, in conversation with others, we find that their observation and experience have been the same. From these known instances that wheat sown after the 5th of May has yielded poorly, we may conclude that *in all cases* when wheat is sown so late in

southern Minnesota it is likely to yield poorly. Here we have a conclusion as to a *whole class* of similar phenomena, based on the observation of a number of related particular instances. That is a generalization. It is a conclusion reached with reference to a whole class from a number of known examples or instances. From the large number of instances known of private monopolies charging unreasonably high prices, we feel safe in concluding that all private monopolies will charge high prices.

There are four tests of this argument:

(1) Is there a sufficiently large number of observed, as compared with the unobserved, instances to warrant the conclusion?

(2) Are the instances observed fair specimens of the class?

(3) Are there any known exceptions?

(4) Is there a reasonable probability that such a general statement is true?

Let us examine briefly these tests.

(1) *The relative number of observed and unobserved instances.*—Of the four, this test means the least. The relative number of observed instances may have very little to do with the validity of the conclusion. In some cases, a single instance may support a conclusion; in others nothing short of all the instances of a class will support it. For example, if a chemist should discover that two new elements combine in new proportions to form an unknown compound, that single instance would be enough to warrant the conclusion that these elements would always so combine. On the other hand, nothing short of a complete enumeration would support the generalization that all the members of the last Minnesota Senate were over thirty-five years of age. In the illustration of the wheat only a few instances would justify a conclusion. To support the conclusion that during the last twenty-five years labor unions have shown tendencies that are detrimental to the best interests of the country, it would be necessary to reckon with a large number of unions, perhaps a majority in number.

(2) *Are the instances observed fair specimens?*—The conclusion that late-sown wheat will yield poorly would find confirmation by this test. Unless it could be shown that in the instances observed the seed was poor, or the ground naturally poor, or poorly prepared, those instances should prove fair

examples. The conditions are much the same in one place as in another. On the other hand, the success of the Brotherhood of Railway Engineers in making collective agreements with their employers without insisting on the closed shop, would not be a fair example from which to prove that other unions may make equally successful agreements. The conditions in that occupation are peculiar. The Brotherhood of Engineers is protected by a long apprenticeship. Their labor is highly skilled, requiring generally years of preparation. It is, moreover, a hazardous occupation. These conditions greatly limit competition and enable men in this occupation to demand high wages. Industries employing unskilled labor present conditions so different as to make the instance above given of very little value for the reason that it is *not a fair specimen.*

(3) *Are there any known exceptions?*—In many communities the notion prevails that it always rains on the Fourth of July. If the records of weather on that day were available, they would probably show so many exceptions as to make the generalization worthless. If many instances could be shown of private monopolies charging low prices, those instances would impair the validity of the generalization that private monopolies charge high prices. If no such examples could be shown, the generalization would stand, by this test.

(4) *Is there a probability that such a general law exists?*—This is, perhaps, the most important test of the argument from generalization. Aside from any examples of fact, it is possible to show very good reasons why we may expect high prices from private monopoly; why it is absurd to think that it will necessarily rain on the Fourth of July any more than on the fifth; why labor unions cannot, in general, make successful collective agreements with their employers so long as the doors are open to non-union men. Similarly there is no probable reason to suppose that all the members of the last Minnesota Senate were over thirty-five years of age. We cannot quite accept any generalization as being true until we know the *reasons* for its being true; in other words, until we can account for its being true in terms of *causes* and *effects.* It can be shown that there are causes operating in the case of private monopolies to produce the effect of high prices; that there are causes working to make collective bargaining difficult in an open shop, while no causes

can be shown to produce the effect of rain on the fourth, any more than on the fifth, of July.

Argument from Analogy

The argument from analogy is based on circumstantial evidence. It is essentially an inference that, because two things or relationships are alike in certain known particulars, they are probably alike in certain unknown particulars. For instance, in a certain experiment with deep and shallow plowing for oats, it was found that a field plowed four inches deep yielded twenty-seven bushels an acre, while an adjoining field plowed ten inches deep yielded seventy-seven bushels an acre. If a farmer were to conclude that by plowing ten inches deep for oats he, too, could raise as much as seventy-seven bushels an acre, he would reason by analogy. The two undertakings would be alike in certain known particulars: the soil in the two places would, perhaps, be much the same; so would be the seed, climate, rainfall, time of planting, etc. These are the points of *known resemblance.* From these we infer that the two examples would be alike in the one *unknown particular,* namely, the big yield. In the same way we infer that because England has successfully collected an income tax, the United States can also collect it. Conditions are much the same. A large part of the tax would be collected by stoppage at the source; that is, taxes on stocks and bonds of corporations would be collected from the corporations before the dividends and interest are paid to the holders of the stocks and bonds. We infer that because the initiative and referendum has worked well in Oregon, it will also work well in Minnesota.

It will be seen that the argument is much like the generalization. Both are inductive arguments, based on examples. The difference is that in the argument from generalization we usually have a considerable number of instances on which to base our inference, and we base our conclusion on the assumption that what is true of the instances or examples *observed,* is true of the *whole class* of such related instances; while in the analogy there is frequently only one, or at most, only a very few examples, the inference being based on the *resemblances* between the instances given rather than on any general truth with reference to *all* such instances.

Sometimes the analogy is a comparison of relationships rather

than matters of fact. In that form the analogy is more of an illustration than an argument. Webster used this form of analogy in opening his reply to Hayne.

Mr. President, when the mariner has been tossed for many days in thick weather and on an unknown sea, he naturally avails himself of the first pause in the storm, the earliest glance of the sun, to take his latitude and ascertain how far the elements have driven him from his true course. Let us imitate this prudence, and, before we float farther on the waves of this debate, refer to the point from which we departed, that we may, at least, be able to conjecture where we now are. I ask for the reading of the resolution before the Senate.

In testing the validity of an analogy, it is well to bear in mind the following:

(1) *Are the two examples alike in all essential particulars?* —By *essential particulars* are meant those that are necessary to reach a conclusion as to the point at issue. If, in the instance given above, of deep plowing for oats, the rainfall in the first example was thirty inches a year and in the second only fifteen inches a year, there would have been a dissimilarity in an essential particular that would render the analogy worthless. With a rainfall of only fifteen inches a year, it is impossible to predict a big crop of oats, no matter how deep the plowing. If one were to argue that there is life on the moon from the known resemblances of conditions on the moon's surface to those on the earth, the known fact that the moon has no atmosphere would prove fatal to the analogy. Atmosphere is a condition indispensable to life, and the two examples prove to be *dissimilar* in an *essential particular.*

Some times the conditions of the analogy are such as to make the resemblance of known particulars more favorable to the example in question than to that of the analogy. Take, for instance, the collection of the income tax in England by stoppage at the source. It can be shown that not only would that plan work *as well* in the United States, but that we have reasons for believing it would work better. The development of corporations has gone further in America than in England, and, consequently, more property would be in the form of stocks and bonds, the income from which is most easily collected by stoppage at the source.

(2) *Are the facts on which the analogy is based really true?* —This is always a pertinent question to ask. If it can be shown that the income tax in England has not been successfully col-

lected, the analogy would be worse than useless as tending to prove that the tax could be collected in the United States. At the present time a public utilities commission for Minnesota is advocated by many. One of the chief arguments for it is that such a commission has worked well in the progressive states of Wisconsin, being an argument from analogy. But the opponents of the commission *deny* that it has worked successfully in Wisconsin. If the failure of the commission in Wisconsin can be shown, the analogy is worthless.

Argument Based on Causal Relationship

There are two kinds of arguments based on causal relationship. One is an inference from cause to effect; the other is an inference from effect to cause. The argument from *cause to effect* is based on matters *before* the fact in dispute. The argument from *effect to cause* is based on matters *after* the fact in dispute.

(1) *The argument from cause to effect.*—When, on a hot afternoon in July, one sees dense, black clouds rolling up in the west, the wind stilled to a dead calm, lightning flashing around the sky, followed by roars of thunder, one expects a rainstorm. From these causes one infers the almost certain effect of rain and wind. From the recent revision of the tariff we infer that the cost of living will be lowered. Similarly we reason that if labor unions are allowed to control exclusively the supply of labor for a certain shop or industry, there will be a tendency for them to charge monopoly prices for labor. All these are illustrations of arguments from cause to effect, sometimes called arguments from *antecedent probability.*

(2) *Argument from effect to cause.*—Many people in Minnesota will remember that in the summer of 1910, in late August, the atmosphere was filled with a whitish smoke of a more or less pronounced odor. This smoky phenomenon lasted all of two days and part of a third, the smoke being at times so dense as to obscure the sun. Here was a definite effect, with the cause at least temporarily unknown. Those who did not believe that the day of judgment was at hand, probably ascribed the smoke to its true cause—forest fires in the West. From the *known effect,* the smoke, the inference was to the *unknown cause,* forest fires.

Lincoln uses this argument to show that the fathers of our government did not expect the country to endure forever half

slave and half free, but that they meant to put slavery where the public mind rested in the belief that it was in the course of ultimate extinction.

I entertain the opinion, upon evidence sufficient to my mind, that the fathers of this government placed that institution where the public mind did rest in the belief that it was in the course of ultimate extinction. Let me ask why they made provision that the source of slavery—the African slave-trade—should be cut off at the end of twenty years? Why did they make provision that in all the new territory we owned at that time slavery should be forever inhibited? Why stop its spread in one direction, and cut off its source in another, if they did not look to its being placed in the course of its ultimate extinction?

Again: the institution of slavery is only mentioned in the Constitution of the United States two or three times, and in neither of these cases does the word "slavery" or "negro race" occur; but covert language is used each time, and for a purpose full of significance. What is the language in regard to the prohibition of the African slave-trade? It runs about this way: "The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight."

The next allusion in the Constitution to the question of slavery and the black race is on the subject of the basis of representation, and there . . . it says "persons," not slaves, not negroes; but this "three-fifths" can be applied to no other class among us than the negroes.

Lastly, in the provision for the reclamation of fugitive slaves, it is said: "No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." There again there is no mention of the word "negro" or of slavery. In all three of these places being the only allusions to slavery in the instrument, covert language is used. Language is used not suggesting that slavery existed or that the black race were among us. And I understand the contemporaneous history of those times to be that covert language was used with a purpose and that purpose was that in our Constitution, which it was hoped and is still hoped will endure forever—when it should be read by intelligent and patriotic men, after the institution of slavery had passed from amongst us—there should be nothing on the face of the great charter of liberty suggesting that such a thing as negro slavery had ever existed among us.—Bouton. Lincoln-Douglas Debates. p. 182-4.

(3) *Tests of the arguments based on causal relationship.*—In testing the strength of these arguments, it is well to ask:

(*a*) Is the cause sufficient to produce the effect?

(*b*) Could other causes have produced or have helped to produce the effect?

(*c*) Is it possible to eliminate other causes than the one assigned?

A causal argument may be virtually conclusive or it may

establish only a slight degree of probability. Lincoln's argument that the early fathers did not expect the country to endure permanently half slave and half free establishes at least a strong degree of probability, if it is not wholly conclusive. The scrupulous avoidance of the term "slavery" in the constitution can be accounted for only by assuming that the fathers hoped the day would come when the institution should be no more, and that they wished to leave as few traces of it in the charter of the government as possible. The inference that the smoky atmosphere in the late summer of 1910 resulted from forest fires must, for many people at least, have been practically conclusive. It was a case in which the elimination of other causes was easy. To reasoning people there was only one other cause possible—prairie fires; and anyone familiar with conditions in the northwest would soon discard that cause as next to impossible, at least at that season of the year.

In arguments from effect to cause it is frequently not so easy to eliminate other causes than the one assigned for the effect. The year of the last presidential election (1912) was one of prosperity. Campaign speakers did not hesitate to ascribe that prosperity to a Republican administration. Admitting the doubtful proposition that the cause might have been sufficient, one could not conceive of other causes being, in any large measure, eliminated. The one cause of abundant crops had, perhaps, more to do with that prosperity than all other causes combined.

Refutation[1]

By refutation is meant answering the arguments of opponents. It has a broader meaning than the term *rebuttal.* By rebuttal, as applied to debating, we usually understand the second speech of a contestant in a formal debate. Work in rebuttal is therefore always concerned with refutation. But we may have refutation in the very first speech of a debate. In a debate on woman suffrage, for instance, the first speaker might very properly answer the objection that woman suffrage would unduly interfere with woman's work in the home. The whole argument on that point, from the affirmative side, would be refutation; that is, it would be a reply to an objection raised by opponents. We shall treat the subject of refutation

[1] Gislason, H. B. Effective Debating. p. 27-35. Univ. of Minn. 1914.

under three heads: (*a*) opportunities for refutation; (*b*) selection of refutation; (*c*) position of refutation.

Opportunities for Refutation.—In the foregoing consideration of evidence the basis has already been laid for refutation. Opportunities for replying to opponents' arguments will present themselves in proportion as those arguments fail to meet the tests already laid down. The first thing, then, is to determine what kind of arguments one's opponents are using and to detect weaknesses in them.

Do they quote the opinions of authorities? If they do, be sure to ask yourself, do these authorities have special knowledge of the question? Have they made special investigation so that they know whereof they speak? Can you show that the authorities are prejudiced; that they have an interest in holding the opinions they do? Do you think the authorities will be accepted by the audience? Here is a field for refutation not always so well cultivated as it might be. Opinions vary as much in weight and worth as do metals.

In treating opportunities for refutation presented by inductive arguments, or those based on circumstantial evidence, we have to consider *fallacies.* It is not possible, within the allotted space, to go into a detailed discussion of fallacies. A brief survey only will be given.

I. CLASSIFICATION OF FALLACIES

(1) *Hasty generalization.*—This fallacy results from an attempted generalization that does not comply with the tests of that argument. It can be refuted by showing that it does not comply with one or more of the four tests. Suppose an attempt is made to show that labor unions try to restrict membership as soon as they have a closed shop. How many examples are given to show such restriction as compared with those which might be given to show the opposite? What degree of proof do two or three examples afford, out of possible hundreds? Is it reasonable to believe that such a thing would happen?

(2) *False analogy.*—This is an argument from analogy in which the example given does not comply with the tests. Can you discover a dissimilarity in some particular essential to the argument, or point at issue? Do you accept the facts on which the analogy is based?

(3) *Fallacies due to non-causal relationship.*—The tendency to affirm a causal connection between facts and phenomena where either none or insufficient ones exist, is one of the most fruitful sources of fallacy. Perhaps the most common form of this error is that of popular superstitions in which absurd and grotesque causal relations are imagined. Thirteen sit together at table; therefore one of the thirteen will surely die soon. A man builds a new house; that will surely cause a death in his family. A man forgets his umbrella; that means bad luck. Of course, we are not likely to meet with such instances in debate, instances in which *no* causal connection can possibly be shown. But we are constantly meeting arguments in which the causal relation affirmed is not nearly sure enough or strong enough to support the conclusion drawn. One instance in point is the campaign argument of the 1912 presidential election. We are enjoying prosperity; that prosperity has been brought about by Republican administration; why change? The cause is absurdly insufficient to account for the prosperity. Moreover, other causes were known to exist, such as good crops. It is argued that if the federal government could charter corporations and completely control them without interference from the states, we could look for proper regulation of these big corporations. But the cause is hardly sufficient to produce the effect. The federal government has, from its beginning, had exclusive power to regulate interstate commerce. Inasmuch as the activities of the offending corporations have been largely in the field of interstate commerce, and inasmuch as the federal government has not exercised nearly all its powers in that field, there is ground for doubting the wisdom of giving it more power.

Sometimes it happens that an effect is ascribed to a cause that did not begin to operate until after the specific effect or similar effects had taken place. Carl Schurz, in his speech before the American Honest Money League, Chicago, 1906, denied the evil consequences of the demonetization of silver in 1873. He showed that the fall in the prices of many articles had happened before silver was demonetized, and could not therefore have been caused by it.

Are these complaints well founded? Look at facts which nobody disputes. That there has been a considerable fall in the prices of many articles since 1873 is certainly true. But was this fall caused by the so-called

demonetization of silver through the act of 1873? Now, not to speak of other periods of our history, such as the period from 1846 to 1851, everybody knows that there was a considerable fall of prices, not only as to agricultural products—cotton, for instance, dropped from $1 a pound in 1864 to 17 cents in 1871—but in many kinds of industrial products, before 1873. What happened before 1873 can not have been caused by what happened in 1873. This is clear. The shrinkage after 1873 may, therefore, have been caused by something else.—Quoted in Baker. Principles of Argumentation. p. 5.

(4) *Fallacies of ignoring the question.* (*a*) Argument *ad hominem.*—This is a departure in the argument from the merits of the question to the merits of an opponent's character or conduct. If a member of a school board were opposing the introduction of a course in agriculture in the high school, and should, in the course of his argument, dwell on the fact that one of his colleagues was inconsistent in that he opposed such a course last year, he would commit this fallacy. The fact that one member of the board had changed his mind in favor of the course during the year, certainly was nothing against the merits of the course.

Douglas used this kind of argument in the debate with Lincoln at Freeport. The question at issue was, why Douglas and his adherents in Congress did not vote for a certain measure known as the Chase amendment, since it merely expressed more specifically what Douglas and his followers maintained was the object of the law.

He [Chase] offered his amendment for the identical purpose for which Mr. Lincoln is using it—to enable demagogues in the country to try and deceive the people. . . . He offered it, as he has himself avowed over and over again, simply to make capital out of it for the stump. He expected that it would be capital for small politicians in the country and that they would make an effort to deceive the people with it; and he was not mistaken, for Lincoln is carrying out the plan admirably.

(*b*) Argument *ad populum.*—This is a departure in the argument from the merits of the question to an appeal to popular prejudices and feelings.

In the Lincoln-Douglas debate at Freeport, Lincoln asked Douglas this question: If the Supreme Court of the United States shall decide that a state cannot exclude slavery from its own limits, will you submit to it? Lincoln had very good reasons for asking the question and should have received a reply on the merits. The following is, in substance, Douglas's answer, which does not go to the merits of the question, but

holds Lincoln up to scorn and ridicule for casting reflections on the supreme court.

I am amazed that Lincoln should ask such a question. ("A schoolboy knows better.") Yes, a schoolboy does know better. Mr. Lincoln's object is to cast an imputation upon the Supreme Court. He knows that there never was but one man in America, claiming any degree of intelligence or decency, who even for a moment pretended such a thing. . . . He might as well ask me: Suppose Mr. Lincoln should steal a horse, would I sanction it; and it would be as genteel in me to ask him, in the event he stole a horse, what ought to be done with him. He casts an imputation upon the Supreme Court of the United States, by supposing that they would violate the Constitution of the United States. I tell him that such a thing is not possible. It would be an act of moral treason that no man on the bench could ever descend to. Mr. Lincoln himself would never in his partisan feelings so far forget what was right as to be guilty of such an act.

(*c*) Arguing that "what has been should be."—The age of an institution or belief is no proof of its worth or correctness. Merely the fact that things "have been" is no reason why they "should be." This fallacy is scored in the following reply of William Ellery Channing to Henry Clay on the slavery question:

But this property, we are told, is not to be questioned on account of its long duration. "Two hundred years of legislation have sanctioned and sanctified negro slaves as property." Nothing but respect for the speaker could repress criticism on this unhappy phraseology. We will trust it escaped him without thought. But to confine ourselves to the argument from duration; how obvious the reply! Is injustice changed into justice by the practice of ages? Is my victim made a righteous prey because I have bowed him to the earth till he can not rise? For more than two hundred years heretics were burned, and not by mobs, not by lynch law, but by the decrees of the councils, at the instigation of theologians, and with the sanction of the laws and religions of nations; and was this a reason for keeping up the fires, that they had burned two hundred years? In the Eastern world, successive despots, not for two hundred years, but for twice two thousand, have claimed the right of life and death over millions, and, with no law but their own will, have beheaded, bowstrung, starved, tortured unhappy men without number who have incurred their wrath; and does the lapse of so many centuries sanctify murder and ferocious power?—Quoted in Foster. Argumentation and Debating. p. 161.

(*d*) Shifting ground.—Whenever a man, under pressure of an argument by an opponent, abandons the proposition which he sets out to support, and takes his stand on another, similar, perhaps, but still different, he is said to *shift ground*. If in a debate on shipping subsidies, the affirmative should begin by advocating subsidies to all ships of certain speed and tonnage, and end by favoring aid to certain mail and passenger lines

only, they would commit the fallacy of shifting ground. This fallacy frequently results from using a term in two different *senses.* Bryan tells a story of a man who argued that all true patriots should vote the Republican ticket because the constitution guarantees to this country a republican form of government. Here the word "republican" is used in two different senses, and results in the speaker's shifting from the proposition, we ought to vote the Republican ticket, to the proposition, we ought to comply with the constitution.

(3) *Fallacies of begging the question.*—This fallacy consists either in assuming the truth of the proposition to be proved and making the proof depend on this assumption; or by assuming the truth of another proposition necessary to the proof of the one at issue. In either case, the fault is essentially one of *assertion,* lack of evidence. This fallacy takes several forms, among which are the following:

(*a*) Arguing in a circle.—This is to assume the truth of the proposition at issue or its equivalent in the course of the proof. For an instance, a student in a class debate asserted that the states, by lax corporation laws, bid for the business of creating corporations for the sake of the fees they get. When asked to prove that the states receive appreciable amounts of money in the form of fees, he replied that they would not be bidding for the business if they did not get big fees. This is like trying to lift one's self by pulling at one's bootstraps.

The fallacy occurs in its simplest form in the following dialogue:

Leon. What is it, my good friends?
Dog. Good man Verges, sir, speaks a little off the matter. An old man, sir, and his wits are not so blunt as, God help, I would desire they were; but in faith, honest as the skin between his brows.
Verg. Yes. I thank God I am as honest as any man living, that is an old man *and no honester than I.*

(*b*) Assuming the truth of a proposition that needs to be proved—It is probable that no fallacy is more common among amateur debaters than this, of *assuming the truth of a proposition that needs to be proved.* In the recent discussion as to whether Mr. Bryan, Secretary of State, neglected the duties of his office by lecturing on the Chautauqua platform, it was stated that he had spent a part of his vacation away from Washington, on the Chautauqua circuit. The facts, of course, were not

disputed; but the argument begged the question by *assuming the truth of the proposition that a Secretary of State who spends a part of his vacation away from Washington on the Chautauqua circuit neglects the duties of his office.* That was one of the main questions at issue, and on that little or no evidence was offered. Clear thinking and careful analysis will best overcome the tendency to this error in reasoning.

(*c*) Using "question-begging" words.—It happens that, both in the statement of questions for debate and in the course of arguments, words are used which, by implication, assume the truth of the proposition in dispute, and so beg the question. Resolved, That the honor system is preferable to the present *unscientific* method of dealing with criminals, is a proposition in point. The use of the word *unscientific* in the statement of the question assumes the truth of the proposition in dispute, namely, whether the honor system *is* more scientific than the present one. Should the *brutal* game of football be abolished, is another resolution similarly faulty. For a student in a debate to jump to the conclusion that illiterate immigrants are undesirable, and then refer to them as "these undesirable immigrants," is to use a question-begging word.

This is not a complete classification of fallacies. Probably, no such classification is possible. Enough examples have been given, however, to put the debater on his guard so that he may avoid errors in his own reasoning, and detect errors in the reasoning of others. It is often remarked that debates are won or lost by the work done in rebuttal. This is true. It is but another way of saying that *refutation is the life of a debate.* When we remember that all arguments in a debate turn on propositions which one side affirms and the other side denies, we must realize that it is not enough to offer evidence in proof of one side of those propositions: we must show that the evidence we offer, the arguments we use, are *better than those of our opponents.* Seldom do we hear debaters take full advantage—too often they take little or no advantage —of the weaknesses of their opponents' arguments. In this connection it is well to bear in mind that it is very difficult to establish the truth of any debatable proposition with any degree of conclusiveness. It is usually easy to show that the opponents have fallen far short of *proving* any particular contention. It is always legitimate to show how far the evidence offered falls short of proving the proposition it supports.

II. WHAT AND WHEN TO REFUTE

Selection of Refutations: What to Refute.—It is impossible to answer all the arguments of opponents in a debate. It is neither necessary nor desirable to do so. Some may be admitted; some may not be of enough importance to require an answer; others may be unanswerable, at least directly; while a number are likely to be of such importance or such doubtful validity as to make a reply to them peculiarly fitting. For instance, in a discussion on the restricting of immigration by a literacy test, it has to be admitted that during the last thirty years there has been a change in the character of the immigration into this country; that of the immigrants from southeastern Europe 50 per cent or more are illiterate. The argument that they congregate in the great centers of population, form colonies of their own which retard the assimilating process, is unanswerable. So is the argument that, other things equal, a man educated, if only to the extent of being able to read and write, is a more desirable citizen than one who is not so educated. To try to show that these things are not so is a waste of time and, moreover, suggests bad faith. Only such arguments should be chosen for refutation as are *important* to the other side, and *can be more or less successfully refuted.* Reverting to the immigration question, the argument that the problem of the "slums" is a problem of immigration can at least be shaken, if not overthrown, by showing that it is essentially a problem of concentrated industries, world-wide in its scope, and not at all confined to countries that have immigration problems.

Sometimes, if a speaker is *assertive,* or is extravagant in his statements, or misrepresents, it is well to give a few instances in as short a time as possible. The following is the opening of a five-minute rebuttal speech, truly effective:

> It is especially essential in a debate of this character that all our evidence be firmly substantiated. The case as it stands clearly puts Leopold on trial for alleged murder in the Congo Free State. Such being the case we can not depend for our verdict on any but the surest and strongest evidence. The great fault of the evidence thus far presented by the gentlemen of the Affirmative, if I may call it a fault, is their unsupported assertion. They say that the situation in the Congo State is worse than slavery; but to prove that they must make a comparison of slavery with the conditions in the Congo Free State. This they have not done. "We know Leopold to be a tyrannical rake," they say. They have not proved it. "His greed is self-evident," they say. We can not accept their word for it. They offer us evidence drawn from a state of affairs "too fearful to relate." If that

evidence is "too fearful" to be presented in this debate, it surely can not be allowed to play any part in our decision. "The conditions of the natives' slavery are of the most abominable sort: on this point there can be no doubt," says the Affirmative. Here again the condition of comparison, to determine what is "the most abominable sort," is entirely lacking; and in regard to the question of "doubt," I have already shown that even anti-Congo agitators admit that slavery has been practically stamped out. These are a few evidences of unsupported assertion, and there are many more in our opponents' arguments.—Student Debate in Foster. Argumentation and Debating. p. 453.

The only way to determine what to refute and what not, is to analyze the question thoroughly. One must know one's opponents' strong arguments as well as one's own. One must know what may be admitted and what may not be; also what *can* be refuted and what cannot be. It is disastrous to spend much time on minor points. *Select for refutation the strongest arguments that can be refuted.*

Position or Refutation: When to Refute.—Refutation may be directed either at one of the *main issues* in the debate, or at any minor proposition, argument, or detail of proof. For instance, in a debate on woman suffrage, one of the negative arguments usually is that woman suffrage would unduly interfere with woman's work in the home. This would be one of the main arguments and, therefore, one of the main issues in the debate. In answering the objection, the affirmative would be directing refutation at a *main issue.* Suppose that another main contention of the negative is that women do not want the ballot, and that they give as part proof the fact that the question was submitted to the women of Massachusetts and that only a very few expressed a desire for the suffrage. The affirmative might well reply that this happened twenty years ago, when sentiment was not nearly so strong on the question as it is at present, and that it is therefore a very poor indication of the attitude of women at the present time. In this case the reply does not go directly to the contention as to whether women want the ballot or not, but simply discredits a piece of evidence offered to prove it. In other words, refutation here goes to a very *minor proposition* in the debate, to only one of the many arguments used to prove that women do not want the ballot.

The question now arises, when, or at what place in the discussion, is it proper to refute? The answer is, *Reply to an objection whenever you think it rises in the minds of your*

hearers so strongly that they desire to have it answered. This is a broad proposition, but it is the guiding principle for all refutation. It matters not whether the refutation goes to a main issue or a minor point. If the meaning of the rule is once grasped, it will answer many questions and overcome many difficulties in the planning of a debate. Let us see how it can be applied, and how it works out.

Suppose the question to be discussed is immigration. Most people know that at the present time our immigrants come principally from southeastern Europe, and are largely illiterate. Many people also believe that the immigrants who come to our shores are the "scum of Europe" and therefore undesirable. We may reasonably conclude, then, that a speaker, defending the present immigration laws, would find these objections in the minds of his hearers even before he began his argument. What is he to do? According to the rule, *remove the objection where it appears,* at the outset. It is possible to show that such notions are largely prejudices, or at best half truths; that instead of getting the scum of Europe, we get the country population rather than the city population—a fact which European governments bewail; that, according to several careful students of the question, our present-day immigrants are not inherently inferior to those of a former generation. A first speaker on the negative in a debate on this question might well begin by removing these prejudices so far as possible, and so open the debate with refutation.

Suppose one were arguing for county option before an audience hostile to prohibition, and yet in favor of local option. One might well begin by showing that county option does not mean prohibition, but that the county is simply a more logical unit than the town for the application of the local option principle. In Congress, it is said that a bill can hardly get a hearing until the question of its constitutionality has been settled.

From these examples we conclude that refutation may come first in a debate whenever there are present in the minds of the audience objections which, if not removed, might prevent the speaker from getting a favorable hearing for his argument.

In the case of a question about which the audience has little knowledge, and on which the hearers have no prejudices or settled convictions, refutation will come later in the argument. For instance, in a debate on the control of public utilities by a

state commission, much constructive work would have to be done before any refutation would be necessary, and that for the reason that no objections would be likely to arise in the minds of the average audience on that question.

In general, however, refutation and constructive work go hand in hand. Especially is this true in the case of debates in which four or more persons take part. It is a great mistake to leave all refutation for the rebuttal speeches. Strictly speaking, that, as a matter of fact, cannot happen. If there has been any analysis of the question and a resulting clash of opinion, there is bound to be refutation, even if it is not presented as such, and is not adapted to the arguments of opponents. It will lose in part its effectiveness in not being adapted to opposing arguments. In an intercollegiate debate on federal incorporation of corporations, the affirmative contended that it was not logical for a state to create a corporation that went all over the country to do business. They, moreover, specifically asked the negative to explain that objection to state incorporation.' It happened that the following speaker of the negative had planned to devote his entire argument to justify state incorporation. In opening his discussion, he, however, made no reference to the arguments of his opponents, nor to the question asked, but proceeded to give his reasons why the states could not afford to give up incorporation. The argument would, of course, have been much more effective had it been levelled at the argument and question of the affirmative.

4. Constructing the Brief[1]

When a builder begins the construction of a wall, he must have the proper material at hand. When an engineer begins the construction of a steel bridge, he must have metal of the right forms and shapes. Neither of these men, however, can accomplish the end which he has in mind unless he takes this material and puts it together in the proper way. So it is with the debater. He may have plenty of good evidence, but he will never win unless that evidence is organized, that is, put together in the most effective manner.

The builder, if he were building a wall of concrete, would get the correct form by pouring the concrete into a mold. So

[1] Lyon, L. S. Elements of Debating. Lesson VI. Univ. of Chicago Press. 1913.

also, there is a mold which the debater should use in shaping his evidence. When the evidence has been put into this form, the debater is said to have constructed a *brief*.

In a previous lesson we saw how we might prove that John Quinn was a dangerous man by using the evidence of a court record. If we had put that evidence in brief form we should have had this:

John Quinn was a dangerous man, for:
1. He was a thief, for:
   (1) The Illinois state courts found him guilty of robbing a bank, for:
      a) See *Ill. Court Reports,* Vol. X., p. 83.

The brief, then, is a concise, logical outline of everything that the speaker wishes to say to the audience.

Its purpose is to indicate in the most definite form every step through which the hearers must be taken in order that the proposition may at last be fully accepted by their experience.

The brief is for the debater himself. He does not show it to the audience. It is the framework of his argument. It is the path which, if carefully marked out, will lead to success.

Now, as we have seen, there are three principal steps in debating:

1. Making clear what you wish the audience to believe.
2. Showing the audience why the establishing of certain issues should make them believe this.
3. Proving these issues.

The first two of these steps constitute what in the brief is called the *Introduction*.

The third step, proving the issues, is the largest part of the brief and is called the *Body* or the *Proof*.

In addition to these two divisions of the brief there is a sort of formal summary at the end called the *Conclusion*.

The skeleton of a brief then would be as follows:

INTRODUCTION

In which: (1) the desired end is made clear; (2) the issues are determined.

PROOF

In which the issues are stated as declarations or assertions and definite reasons are given why each one should be believed. These reasons are in turn supported by other reasons until the assertion is finally brought within the hearers' experience.

CONCLUSION

In which the proof is summarized.

Of course no two briefs are identical, but all must follow this general plan. Suppose we look at what might be called a model brief.

MODEL BRIEF

Statement of Proposition.

INTRODUCTION

I. Definition of terms.
II. Restatement of question in light of these terms.
III. Determination of issues.
  1. Statement of what both sides admit.
  2. Statement of what is irrelevant.
IV. Statement of the issues.

PROOF

I. The first issue is true, for:
  1. This reason, which is true, for:
    (1) This reason, for:
      a) This reason.
      b) This reason.
  2. This reason, for:
    (1) This evidence.
    (2) This authority.
    (3) This testimony, for:
      a) See Vol. X, p. —, of report, document, magazine, or book.
II. The second issue is true, for:
  1. This reason, for:
    (1) This reason.
  2. This reason, for:
    (1) This reason.
    (2) This reason.
III. The third issue is true, for:
  1. This reason, etc.
IV. The fourth issue is true, for:
  1. This reason, etc.

CONCLUSION

Therefore, since we have shown: (1) that the first issue is true by this evidence; (2) that the second issue is well founded by this evidence; (3) that the third and fourth, etc.; we conclude that our proposition is true.

Now, let us look at a special brief, made out in a high-school debate, for a special subject.

The preceding is an affirmative brief and there were four issues. In the following we have a negative brief, in which there were three issues. Refutation is introduced near the close of the proof.

BRIEF FOR NEGATIVE

INTRA-HIGH-SCHOOL CONTESTS SHOULD BE SUBSTITUTED FOR INTER-HIGH-SCHOOL CONTESTS IN THE HIGH SCHOOLS OF NORTHERN ILLINOIS

INTRODUCTION

I. Definition of terms.
   1. Contests, ordinary competitions in:
      a) Athletics.
      b) Debating.
   2. Intra-high-school contests (contests within each school).
   3. Inter-high-school contests (contests between different high schools).

II. Restatement of question in light of these definitions. Contests within each high school should be substituted for contests between high schools in Northern Illinois.

III. Determination of issues.
   1. It is admitted that:
      a) Inter and intra contests both exist at present in the high schools of northern Illinois.
      b) Contest work is a desirable form of training.
      c) Not all contests should be abolished.
   2. Certain educators have asserted that:
      a) The inter form of contests is open to abuses.
      b) The intra contests would be more democratic.
      c) Intra contests would be practicable.
   3. Other educators disagree with these assertions.
   4. The issues, then, are:
      a) Are the inter contests so widely abused in the high schools of northern Illinois as to warrant their abolition?
      b) Would the proposed plan be more democratic than the present system?
      c) Would the proposed plan work out in practice?

PROOF

I. Contests between the high schools of northern Illinois are not subject to such abuses as will warrant their abolition, for:

   A. If the abuses alleged against athletic contests ever existed, they are now extinct, for:

      1. The alleged danger of injury to players physically unfit is not an existing danger, for:
         (1) It has been made impossible by the rules of the schools, for:

a) This high school requires a physician's certificate of fitness before participation in any athletic contest, for:
(a) Extract from athletic rulings of school board.
b) Our opponent's high school has a similar regulation, for:
(a) Extract from school paper of opponents.
c) The X High School has the same ruling.
d) The Y High School has the same requirement.

2. The charge that athletic contests between high schools make the contestants poor students is without sound basis, for:
(1) A high standard of scholarship is required of all inter-high-school athletic contestants, for:
a) Regulations of Illinois Athletic Association.

B. The evils charged against inter-high-school debating cannot be cured by the proposed scheme, for:
1. They are due, when they exist, not to the form of contest, but to improper coaching, for:
(1) "Too much training," one of the evils charged, is an example of this.
(2) Unfair use of evidence, the other evil alleged, is simply an evil of improper coaching.

II. The proposed plan would not be so democratic as the present system, for:
A. The present plan gives an opportunity to all students, for:
1. Its class and other intra contests give a chance to the less proficient pupils.
2. Its inter contests afford an opportunity for the more proficient pupils.
B. The proposed plan would deprive the more capable pupils of desirable contests, for:
1. They can find contests strenuous enough to induce development only by competing with similar students in other schools.

III. The proposed plan would not be practicable, for:
A. It is unsound in theory, for:
1. No pupil has a strong desire to defeat his close friends.
2. There is no desirable method of dividing the students for competition under the proposed plan, for:
(1) Class division is unsatisfactory, for:
a) The more mature and experienced upper classes win too easily.
(2) "Group division" is not desirable, for:
a) If the division is large, the domination of the mature students will give no opportunity to the younger students.
b) If the division is small, it is likely to develop into a secret society.

B. Experience opposes the proposed plan, for:
1. College experience is against it, for:
(1) N. University tried this plan without success, for:
a) Quotation from president of N.

2. **High-school experience does not indorse it, for:**
   (1) **It is practically untried in high schools.**

REFUTATION

I. **The argument which the affirmative may advance, that the experience of Shortridge High School demonstrates the success of this plan, is without weight, for:**
   A. **It is not applicable to this question, for:**
      1. **The plan at Shortridge is not identical with the proposed plan, for:**
         (1) **Shortridge has not entirely abolished inter contests, for:**
            a) **School Review, October, 1911.**
      2. **Conditions in Shortridge differ from those in the high schools of northern Illinois, for:**
         (1) **Faculty of that school has unusual efficiency in coaching, for:**
            a) **Extract from letter of principal.**
         (2) **Larger number of students, for:**
            a) **Extract from letter of principal.**

CONCLUSION

Since there is no opportunity for serious abuse arising from contests between schools, and since the adoption of contests within the schools alone would lessen the democracy of contests as a form of education, and since the proposed plan is impracticable in theory and has never been put into successful operation, the negative concludes that the substitution of intra for inter contests is not desirable in the high schools of northern Illinois.

From these illustrative briefs we can draw:

RULES FOR BRIEFING

The introduction should contain only such material as both sides will admit, or, as you can show, should reasonably admit, from the phrasing of the proposition.

Scrupulous care should be used in the numbering and lettering of all statements and substatements.

Each issue should be a logical reason for the truth of the proposition.

Each substatement should be a logical reason for the issue or statement that it supports.

Each issue in the proof and each statement that has supporting statements should be followed by the word "for."

Each reason given in support of the issues and each subreason should be no more than a simple, complete, declarative sentence.

The word "for" should never appear as a connective between a statement and substatement in the introduction.

The words "hence" and "therefore" should never appear in the proof of the brief, but one should be able to read *up* through the brief and by substituting the word "therefore" for the word "for" in each case, arrive at the proposition as a conclusion.

5. Developing the Argument from the Brief[1]

When the brief is finished, the material is ready to be put into its final form. This final form is called the *forensic.*

As practically all debates are conducted by means of teams, the work of preparing the forensic is usually divided among the members of the team. The brief may be divided in any way, but it is desirable that each member of the team should have one complete, logical division. So it often happens that each member of the team develops one issue into its final form.

The forensic is nothing but a rounding-out of the brief. The brief is a skeleton: the forensic is that skeleton developed into a complete literary form. Into this form the oral delivery breathes the spirit of living ideas.

There art two ways in which the forensic may be developed from the brief. Both have some advantages, varying with the conditions of the debate. One is to write out every word of the forensic. When this is done, the debater may, if he wishes, read from his manuscript to the audience. If he does so, his chances of making a marked effect are little better than if he spoke from the bottom of a well. The average audience will not follow the speaker who is occupied with raveling ideas from his paper rather than with weaving them into the minds of his hearers.

The debater who writes his forensic may, however, learn it and deliver it from memory. This method has some decided advantages. In every debate the time is limited; and by writing and rewriting the ideas can be compressed into their briefest and most definite form. Besides, the speaker may practice upon this definite forensic to determine the rapidity with which he must speak in order to finish his argument in the allotted time.

At the same time this plan has several unfavorable aspects. When the debater has prepared himself in this way, forgetting is fatal. He has memorized words. When the words do not come he has no recourse but to wait for memory to revive, or to look to his colleagues for help. Again, the man who has learned his

[1] Lyon, L. S. Elements of Debating. Lesson VII. Univ. of Chicago Press. 1913.

argument can give no variety to his attack or defense. He is like a general with an immovable battery, who, though able to hurl a terrific discharge in the one direction in which his guns point, is powerless if the attack is made ever so slightly on his flank. Perhaps the greatest disadvantage of this method is that it does not give the student the best kind of training. What he needs most in life is the ability to arrange and present ideas rapidly, not to speak a part by rote.

It would seem, then, that this plan should be advised only when the students are working for one formal debate, and are not preparing for a series of class or local contests that can all be controlled by the same instructor or critic. With beginners in oral argumentation this method will usually make the better showing, and may therefore be considered permissible in the case of those teams which, because of unfamiliarity with their opponents' methods, can take no chances. This plan of preparation is in no way harmful or dishonest, but lacks some of the more permanent advantages of the second method.

The second method of developing the brief into the forensic is by *oral composition.* This method demands that the debater shall *speak extemporaneously* from his *memorized brief.* This in no way means that careful preparation, deliberate thought, and precise organization are omitted. On the contrary, the formation of a brief from which a winning forensic can be expanded requires the most studious preparation, the keenest thought, and the most careful organization. Neither does it mean that, as soon as the brief is formed, the forensic can be presented. Before that step is taken, the debater who will be successful will spend much time, not in *written,* but in *oral* composition.

He will study his brief until he sees that it is not merely a succession of formal statements connected with "for's," but a series of ideas arranged in that form because they will, if presented in that order, bring conviction to his hearers. "Learning the brief," then, becomes not a case of memory, but a matter of seeing—seeing what comes next because that is the only thing that logically could come next. When the brief is in mind, the speaker will expand it into a forensic to an imaginary audience until he finds that he is expressing the ideas clearly, smoothly, and readily. Pay no attention to the fact that in the course of repeated deliveries the words will vary. Words make little difference if the framework of ideas is the same.

This method of composing the forensic trains the mind of the student to see the logical relationship of ideas, to acquire a command of language, and to vary the order of ideas if necessary. In doing these things, there are developed those qualities that are essential to all effective speaking.

A debater's success in giving unity and coherence to his argument depends chiefly on his method of introducing new ideas in supporting his issues. These changes from one idea to another, or transitions, as they are called, should always be made so that the hearer's attention will be recalled to the assertion which the new idea is intended to support. Suppose we have made this assertion: "Contests within schools are more desirable than contests between schools." We are planning to support this by proving: first, that the contests between schools are very much abused; second, that the proposed plan will be more democratic; and third, that the proposed plan will work well in practice. In supporting these issues, we should, of course, present a great deal of material. When we are ready to change from the first supporting idea to the second, we must make that change in such a way that our hearers will know that we are planning to prove the second main point of our contention. But this is not enough. We must make that change so that they will be definitely reminded of what we have already proved. The same thing will hold true when we change to the third contention.

The following illustrates a faulty method of transition: Contests between schools are so abused that they should be abolished [followed by all the supporting material]. The proposed plan will be more democratic than the present [followed by its support]. The proposed plan would work well in practice [followed by its support]. No matter how thoroughly we might prove each of these, they would impress the audience as standing alone; they would show no coherence, no connection with one another. The following would be a better method: Contests within schools should be substituted for those between schools because contests between schools are open to abuses so great as to warrant their abolition [followed by its support]. We should then begin to prove the second issue in this way: But not only are contests between schools so open to abuse that they should be abolished, but they are less desirable than contests within schools for they are less democratic. [This will then be followed with the support of the second issue.] The transition to the third issue should be made in this way: Now, honorable judges, we

have shown you that contests between schools are not worthy of continuance; we have shown you that the plan which we propose will be better in its democracy than the system at present in vogue; we now propose to complete our argument by showing you that our plan will work well in practice. [This would then be followed with the proper supporting material.]

Great speakers have shown that they realized the importance of these cementing transitions. Take for example Burke's argument that force will be an undesirable instrument to use against the colonies. He says: "First, permit me to observe that the use of force alone is but temporary." The next paragraph he begins: "My next objection is its uncertainty." He follows that with: "A further objection to force is that you impair the object by your very endeavor to preserve it." And he concludes: "Lastly, we have no sort of experience in favor of force as an instrument in the rule of our colonies." He used this principle to perhaps even greater advantage when he argued that "a fierce spirit of liberty had grown up in the colonies." He supports this with claims which are introduced as follows:

"First, the people of the colonies are descendants of Englishmen."

"They were further confirmed in this pleasing error [their spirit of liberty] by the form of their provincial legislative assemblies."

"If anything were wanting to this necessary operation of the form of government, religion would have given it a complete effect."

"There is, in the South, a circumstance attending these colonies which, in my opinion, fully counterbalances this difference, and makes the spirit of liberty still more high and haughty than in those to the northward. It is that in Virginia and the Carolinas, they have a vast multitude of slaves."

"Permit me, Sir, to add another circumstance in our colonies, which contributes no mean part towards the growth and effect of this untractable spirit. I mean their education."

"The last cause of this disobedient spirit in the colonies is hardly less powerful than the rest as it is not merely moral, but laid deep in the natural constitution of things. Three thousand miles of ocean lie between you and them."

He finally summarizes these in this way, which further ties them together.

Then, Sir, from these six capital sources; of descent; of form of government; of religion in the northern provinces; of manners in the southern; of education; of the remoteness of situation from the first mover of government; from all these causes a fierce spirit of liberty has grown up.

In presenting the forensic to the judges and audience forget,

so far as possible, that you are debating. You have a proposition in which you believe and which you want them to accept. Your purpose is not to make your hearers say: "How well he does it." You want them to say: "He is right."

Do not rant. Speak clearly, that you may be understood; and with enough force that you may be heard, but in the same manner that you use in conversation.

Good gestures help. Good gestures are those that come naturally in support of your ideas. While practicing alone notice what gestures you put in involuntarily. They are right. Do not ape anyone in gesture. Your oral work will be more effective without use of your hands than it will be with an ineffective use of them. The most ineffective use is the making of motions that are so violent or extravagant that they attract the listeners' attention to themselves and away from your ideas. Remember that the expression of your face is most important of all gestures. Earnest interest, pleasantness, fairness, and vigor expressed in the speaker's face at the right times have done more to win debates than other gestures have ever accomplished.

6. Presenting the Argument

a. Influencing the Audience by Persuasion

The aim of the debater is to win the audience over to his side of the question; to get them to think and feel as he does. By the logical presentation of his arguments, backed up by a well-chosen array of facts and statistics as proof, the debater appeals to the reason of his hearers, and if men were dominated by their reasoning powers alone, this would be sufficient. But men are subject also to their emotions which are the result of training, prejudice and environment. The debater therefore has a twofold task: he must appeal not only to the reason of his hearers but to their emotions also. In order to arouse them to action he must not only convince but he must also persuade.

Persuasion may be defined as an attempt to influence to action by appeal to the special interests of the hearer. As conviction appeals to the reason and is secured by logical argument, so persuasion must appeal to the emotions of the audience and is itself largely emotional. The debater must know what are the motives that sway mankind to action and how they are manifested. He must also study his audience to know its

temper, prejudices and emotions, and how to sway them to gain his ends, and must himself be earnest and sincere in advocating what he believes.

There are a number of methods often employed to persuade the audience to the speaker's way of thinking. One may appeal to the highest and most unselfish motives such as the love of liberty, chivalry, or desire for fair play; another appeal may be made to past experience, and the closer this experience comes to that of the audience, the more effective it will be. Another appeal may be made to the things every man holds dear, life itself, property rights, the right of free speech. A less justifiable appeal, although often a powerful one, is sometimes made to the prejudices and self-interest of the hearers. The debater should feel obligated at all times to appeal to the highest motives possible.

Persuasion is not only effected by a study of and an appeal to the emotions of the audience; it is effected by the attitude of the speaker himself. In order to plead effectively for a cause the speaker must believe in it himself and be able to speak for it with real feeling. William Trufant Foster states that the successful speaker must be genuinely sincere, dead in earnest, be simple and direct in his manner, bearing, tone of voice, and use of language, present his case with perfect fairness to both sides, be calm and self-controlled so that his emotions may seem the result of calm, vigorous thinking, keep his audience in good humor, be in sympathy with them and take them into his confidence.

The following suggestions for persuading the audience are given by Baker and Huntington:[1]

(1) Ascertain the habits of mind of your proposed audience.

(2) Determine the special interests and idiosyncrasies of your audience.

(3) Connect lower with higher motives.

(4) Remember that the larger the audience the higher the motives to which appeal may be made.

(5) Startling an audience may rout indifference or effectively emphasize.

(6) Let the nature of your task determine the order of your persuasion.

(7) Unify the persuasion for some definite purpose.

(8) Be flexible; adapt the work to unexpected exigencies.

[1] The Principles of Argumentation. 1905. p. 331.

b. Delivery of the Debate[1]

NECESSITY FOR GOOD DELIVERY.—Good delivery is essential to the best debating. Audiences and judges are so constituted that the manner in which a thing is said largely determines their attitude toward the thought of what is said. The most commonplace utterances of a speaker who possesses an effective delivery often produce a profound impression. An almost perfect speech from the literary standpoint frequently falls flat because of its weak presentation.

DELIVERY OF THE MEMORIZED SPEECH.—The debater, and especially the high school debater, is apt to fall into very bad habits of delivery, due to the fact that he usually memorizes his debates. The practice of writing entire speeches and memorizing them word for word almost always results in a mechanical, monotonous delivery. In presenting the memorized speech which has been rehearsed and rehearsed until not a word is misplaced, the debater rarely thinks about what he is saying; he doesn't need to think about it; the speech which he has learned has become like a phonographic record, and all that the debater has to do is to start the machinery of his voice and the speech will be automatically produced. And the delivery of a debate in this manner is often about as effective as a good phonograph reproduction. It is a well recognized fact that in order to convey ideas to an audience it is necessary for the speaker to hold the thought of his speech before him as he speaks, and this is very difficult to do if the speech can be produced without any mental effort except the act of memory. Also, the delivery of the memorized speech is apt to be too rapid. The debater speaks without deliberation when it is no effort to select the language which he uses, and the pauses which he does make are apt to be studied and dramatic rather than natural. The cure for these faults of delivery is the cultivation of the extemporaneous method of speaking. In adopting this plan of debating the student will doubtless flounder about helplessly for a time, but with hard work and practice he will ultimately develop powers of delivery far excelling those of the debater who speaks from memory. Notes may be used at first but these should be abandoned as the debater gains more confidence and ability in speaking.

COMMON FAULTS IN DELIVERY.—Another fault in delivery common to many debaters is their violent, noisy style of presenting

[1] Jones, L. Manual for Debaters. p. 66-9. Univ. of Wash. 1913.

their debates. They forget that mere loud talking is not debating, and that the most effective speaker is the one who presents his arguments with the least waste of physical energy. The debater should never let himself out to the full limit of his powers—he should always have power in reserve. To control his audience the speaker must first control himself.

Many debaters begin their speeches with a louder tone and more energy than they use in closing them, and the effect produced is an anti-climax. It is a most ridiculous spectacle to see a debater tear a passion to tatters in the first part of his speech and grow gradually weaker and weaker as he approaches the close of his address. The delivery of the speaker in opening his debate should be quiet and dignified. As the speech progresses the vigor which he puts into his words should naturally increase. Different parts of each argument call for differences in tone, volume and emphasis. The transitions from one argument to the next should be indicated in the delivery by appropriate pauses, changes in position on the platform, and by proper modulations of the voice. Yet these changes in delivery should be so entirely natural that the speaker unconsciously makes them.

Suggestions for Delivery.—The debater should use the natural conversational tone throughout his debate, merely elevating the tone as the size of the room and the audience demands. The enunciation of every word should be clear-cut and distinct. The rate of speaking should always be slow enough to permit the speaker to give proper emphasis to his words, and to enable the audience to grasp his thought. It is better to be too deliberate than too hasty. The speaker's position and gestures should be such that the attention of the audience is not detracted from what he is saying. If gestures are made, they should be entirely spontaneous. The debater's problem is the same as that of any public speaker. He wishes to produce in the minds of the audience the convictions and emotions of his own mind, and his effort should be to make his voice and his body express as perfectly as possible the content of his mind.

It is in the delivery of the debate that the debater's powers of persuasion come into use. The attitude of the debater toward the audience should be that of sincerity and earnestness. He should believe what he says as completely as possible during the debate. In presenting his case he should be simple and unaffected. The words which he uses should be the simplest words available for the expression of the thought of his speech. He should avoid all

forms of grandiloquence and rhetorical or dramatic display. He should be fair, generous and courteous in his treatment of the members of the opposing team and their arguments. Ridicule and sarcasm, if employed at all, should be used discreetly, and should be directed against the argument of the opponents and not against their personalities. Above all, the debater should be a thorough gentleman in his treatment of the opposing team and in his attitude toward the audience.

TRAINING IN DELIVERY.—Every debater should, if possible, take courses in oral expression and public speaking under a competent instructor. In this work he will be given exercises which will help him to develop a graceful and easy position on the platform, a voice which is agreeable and expressive, correct inflection, pause and pitch. If no such courses are available, the debater should study and practice without an instructor from some standard text on public speaking.

The study of the theory of delivery is of no particular value unless the debater has a great deal of actual practice in speaking. To develop a good delivery it is necessary to learn by experience the most effective way of presenting an argument to an audience. Edward Everett Hale once said: "If you want to be a good public speaker, whenever anyone is fool enough to ask you to speak, you be fool enough to do it." Constant practice and careful observation of faults and effort to correct them will enable any person with ordinary natural ability to develop a clear, effective delivery.

c. Facing the Audience[1]

The effective public speaker receives from his audience in vapor, what he pours back on them in a flood.—GLADSTONE.

Public speakers of long experience have said that they never face an audience without undergoing that painful discomposure called stage fright.

JUST BEFORE SPEAKING

is a critical moment. Scores of methods for inducing repose of mind and body have been suggested, but . . . only one word of advice will be attempted: *Maintain your confidence.* If you have made faithful, intelligent preparation, you know

[1] Esenwein, J. B. How to Attract and Hold an Audience. p. 154-9. Hinds, Noble & Eldredge. 1902.

more of your phase of the subject than any one in your audience is likely to know. If you are speaking from a sense of duty, go forward as to a duty. If you have committed all or part of the address to memory (and committing to memory means handing a thing over to the memory), you must not bear the burden too heavily upon your spirit. Be confident by a supreme effort of the will. Be confident because of reliance upon preparatory effort, upon the teaching of experience, upon the good sense of your audience, upon your ability to hold yourself in hand. This is not advising presumption. Far from it. It is simply urging the importance of asserting your nerve as determinedly before speaking as you would before going to the dentist. No better advice than the foregoing could apply also to

THE FIRST MOMENTS OF DELIVERY

An audience yields everything to a firm and confident speaker. Even when you are quaking in your boots with the ague of fear, and your teeth fain would beat "retreat," you must assume a boldness you do not feel. For doing this there is nothing like deep, steady breathing, a firm look at the dreaded audience, and —if you are not caught at it—a clenched fist. But do not fear your auditors. They want you to succeed, and always honor an exhibition of pluck. They are fair, and know that you are only one man against a thousand. In these climes audiences do not eat the *pre*-prandial orator after hearing his discourse. Besides, if you are half so bad as at that moment you feel yourself to be, you are not good enough to eat. Look at your audience, squarely, earnestly, expressively. Why do so many men denounce big hats if they do not wish to catch the eloquent gleam of the orator's eye? The habit of looking at the walls or the ceiling during delivery robs the orator of much of his power. Mirabeau used to transfix his auditors by the intensity of his gaze, and though he crossed their dearest purposes, they dared not lift a finger in opposition to the flood of his eloquence.

Will to be self-controlled if you cannot be calm. The audience is not whirling madly in a circle, there are only the usual number of lights, the rostrum is not heaving, Niagara is not roaring beside you. *No! Put these phantasms down by will-power.* No one who has not experienced it can imagine the terrors of stage fright; but no one who has not cultivated it can understand the power of the human will.

A firm grip upon the opening words is necessary, so that you could repeat them even if the roof should collapse. Begin at a moderate pitch, in a moderate tone, and do not let yourself get too fiery in the introduction. You will need some of that fire in five minutes. This much of Dr. Leifchild's rule is good:—

> Begin low,
> Go on slow;
> Rise higher,
> And take fire.

It is related of the second Henry Grattan that he "could not utter a half-dozen sentences without getting into such a passion and indulging in such violence of gesture that it was quite unsafe for any member to sit within reach of his right arm."

THE COURSE OF DELIVERY

Excess of feeling at the outstart must be checked, not choked. It is just as offensive for a speaker to go to sleep on his feet, as for him to rant. Indeed, ranting is the lesser of the two evils. The same vital power of will which keeps emotion within bounds will serve to call it forth when needed. It is not necessary to argue the psychological question of whether emotion can be made, nor is it needful to study the actor's tricks in simulating emotion; it is sufficient to know that you *can* arouse yourself from torpor on the platform, that you *can* get into sympathy with your theme, that you *can* make yourself feel anything on which you think intently enough, from a creeping chill to hot indignation. Just now, while you are reading, you can taste the sour of acid on the tip of your tongue, feel an itching on your left shoulder-blade, or a tickling in your throat—if you will to do so.

This excitation of the emotions for oratorical purposes may be cultivated. Artificiality! sneers some one. Trickery! complains another. "Stale indignation, and fervor a week old!" laughs Sidney Smith. All wrong. It is physical earnestness. It is a legitimate calling upon the body to be what it was created to be: the instrument of the soul, responsive to its moods and tenses. "He who reigns within himself and rules his passions, desires, and fears, is more than a king."[1] He is an orator. You would not think of condoling with a bereaved friend in a harsh, unfeeling tone. Even if you had a headache or were preoccupied, you

[1] Milton.

would command the delicately sympathetic word and tone. This is not hypocrisy, it is common decency. And so in public speech you must be so responsive to your thought that emotion will arise when needed. Take your message to heart—you can if you have prepared with sincerity and conviction. Make the cause for emotion in your discourse a personal cause, and it will call forth your own emotions.

Never think for a moment that effective oratory can be an accident. Certainly the inspiration of delivery will often carry the orator beyond himself, and give his discourse a sweep and power as unpremeditated as it is convincing. But just as certainly such eloquence could not be attained had the orator failed to call into play—notice, *call* into play—all his powers of body, mind, and spirit. Holyoke relates of Shiel, the little Irish orator, that when he replied in the House of Commons to the Duke of Wellington, who had said that the Irish were aliens in race, blood, and religion, "his accents were in his hair, his eyes, in his arms, in every limb. He was alive all over, and from this confluence of action proceeded a piercing stream of sentences of scorn and fire."[1]

The annals of oratory abound in instances of great speakers who made the most of their physical endowment, and of many who, by sheer force of determination, won in spite of the handicap of diminutive body, squeaking voice, lisping tongue, or sluggish blood.

How do you clench your hand for a fist gesture—so weakly that it would not hurt a child? Or do you throw your whole muscular organization into that clenched fist? How do you set your teeth in speaking of determination? Does your eye fade or flash when you press home your point? Does your voice ring or falter in direct appeal? Naturalness, ease, dignity, variety, elasticity, quickness—these are the expressions of a body vitalized and made responsive to the inner man.

What is true of physical earnestness is true of manner in delivery. Does the thought require the familiarity of colloquial expression, the directness of appeal, the dignity of elevated mood, or the fervor of passion? Then rely upon the will in delivery. Are you, like Sir Henry Irving and uncounted others, the victim of offensive mannerisms? Simply stop them by thinking and willing. Do not lose the kind offices of so good a friend as your will by lack of acquaintance with its power to do you good.

[1] "Public Speaking and Debate," p. 245.

7. Cooperation Among Debaters

a. Conferences Among Debaters[1]

It is a great advantage for opponents in a debate to get together once or twice after they have thoroughly investigated the question, and when they are ready to organize their arguments. In this conference, the debaters ought to come to a definite understanding as to what they regard as the *main issues* in the debate, and what will be the order of these issues. This will help to bring about a clash on the main propositions in dispute, and will fix attention on essentials.

Debaters frequently dislike the idea of these conferences, feeling that they "give away" their case. This, however, proceeds from a wrong conception of debating. The aim of a debate is to discover truth and help the audience to come to a conclusion on the question. It is not mere *disputation,* with the idea of getting the other fellow into a hole. Moreover, agreeing on the main issues does not give away the evidence that will be used in supporting them. Admitting that it is laudable to win, we may say that debates are not won by using unexpected arguments and laying traps for opponents. They are won by carefully choosing the main propositions to be supported, by wisely chosing evidence in support of them, and by effectively presenting the arguments to the hearers.

b. Division of Work Among Speakers[2]

If, as is frequently the case, there are four leaders, the work may be divided in this way:

1. The first speaker on the affirmative gives the outline of the entire affirmative case, shows what he and his associates are to prove, and presents his own arguments. Incidentally he may do something to destroy the force of arguments which may be brought forward by the other side.

2. The first speaker on the negative comes next. He shows what he and his colleagues are to prove, and presents his part of the proof. He has the advantage of knowing what has been said by the opening speaker, and does what he can to weaken

[1] Gislason, H. B. Effective Debating. p. 36. Univ. of Minn. 1914.

[2] Genung and Hanson. Outlines of Composition and Rhetoric. p. 351-2. Ginn & Co. 1915.

those arguments. He may, if he sees fit, anticipate some of the points likely to be made by the second speaker on the affirmative.

3. The second affirmative speaker does the work outlined by his colleague and answers the first negative speaker. He then attacks arguments that may be made by the second speaker on the negative and sums up the case for the affirmative.

4. The second negative speaker finishes the defensive work begun by his colleague and does his best to refute the arguments of the affirmative. He then sums up the case for the negative. . . .

After the closing of the general debate, one representative from each side is entitled to make a final rebuttal speech. In these rebuttal speeches no new arguments or evidence can be introduced except for the purpose of answering an opponent or of making clearer and more emphatic some argument already advanced by the speaker's side. The representative of the affirmative comes last. As the burden of proof rests upon his side, he should have the last word. The closing speakers need to be especially clever in singling out the main points that have been proved, and in sending them home to the audience in a clear, concise, emphatic summary.

(It often happens that there are three speakers on each side and each debater is allowed to speak in rebuttal. When this is the case, the work will have to be more fully divided so as to give each debater his share, but the principles of division and the general order of the argument hold good as stated above. —COMP.)

I. WORK OF THE FIRST AFFIRMATIVE AND NEGATIVE SPEAKERS[1]

It may be well also to point out more clearly the somewhat special nature of the first speeches on each side. The first speech of the affirmative must, of course, make clear to the judges and the audience what you wish them to believe. This will involve all the steps which have already been pointed out as necessary to accomplish that result. The first speaker can gain a great deal for his side by presenting this material not only with great clearness, but in a manner which will win the goodwill of the audience toward himself, his team, and his side of the subject. To do this,

[1] Lyon, L. S. Elements of Debating. p. 55-6. Univ. of Chicago Press. 1913.

he must be genial, honest, modest, and fair. He must make his hearers feel that he is not giving a narrow or prejudiced analysis of the question; he must make them feel that his treatment is open and fair to both sides, and that he finally reaches the issues not at all because he *wishes* to find those issues, but because a thorough analysis of the question will allow him to reach no others.

The first speaker on the negative side may have much the same work to do. If, however, he agrees with what the first speaker of the affirmative has said, he will save time merely by stating that fact and by summarizing in a sentence or two the steps leading to the issues. If he does not agree with the interpretation which the affirmative has given to the question, it will be necessary for him to interpret the question himself. He must make clear to the judges why his analysis is correct and that of his opponent faulty.

8. Rebuttal

a. Speeches in Rebuttal[1]

In an argument to the jury, the counsel is limited to facts brought out in the evidence. He may use any material as long as it is for the purpose of argument or illustration, but when he presents his case he cannot go beyond the evidence already introduced. The same rule of law or of ethics (for it is both) should apply to rebuttal speeches in general argument and debate. A rebuttal speech should be honestly confined to arguments already set forth. To introduce into a final speech in rebuttal new material that has been carefully reserved for the purpose is dishonest. Judges of debate will usually disregard new arguments thus introduced, and sometimes will discount the standing of debaters who violate the rule.

b. Scattering Rebuttal[2]

Do not try to reply to every minor point just because you think you can. And especially, do not try to rebut a point

[1] Denney, Duncan and McKinney. Argumentation and Debate. p. 115. Am. Book Co. 1910.

[2] Gislason, H. B. Effective Debating. p. 30. Univ. of Minn. 1914.

unless you are sure you have better evidence to offer on it than your opponent. In a five to eight-minute rebuttal speech, not more than two to four points should, in general, be handled. These should be carefully selected and should be the strongest arguments of your opponent that you can successfully refute. The relation of these rebuttal arguments to your main issues in the debate should be clearly shown. Whenever you reply to an opponent's point, be sure to show the bearing of what you say to some larger issue. Otherwise the audience will be lost in a mere medley of details.

c. Organization of Rebuttal Notes[1]

The material for answering the contention of your opponents should be immediately available. Otherwise much of your reading and study may count for nothing. You may know that there is a decision of the supreme court which invalidates the legal argument just presented against your proposition; but unless you can find the exact quotation at once, you cannot use it. You may remember that somewhere in the reports of the Philippine Commission is a table of statistics showing that your opponent is wrong in his contention regarding the population of the islands; but if you are obliged to hunt through these reports to find the table, you may lose the rest of his speech, and even then fail to track down the evidence you need. You may feel sure that, somewhere among your notes, there are concrete data sufficient to show that an authority just cited against your position is prejudiced and otherwise incompetent; but if your notes are carelessly taken and unorganized, you may search them in vain, and have nothing to offer against the authority but useless general charges. All material for use as refutation should be taken down with clearness, fairness and precision, and it should be arranged according to a definite and serviceable system. . . . The plan of taking down, on one side of cards of uniform size, all the evidence which may be useful for rebuttal, and then organizing that material under six or eight heads, has been used by many successful debaters. The cards may be of standard library size (about 3 by 5) or a little larger. The number and nature of the groups into which the

[1] Foster, W. T. Essentials of Exposition and Argument. p. 173-5. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 1911.

cards are divided for convenient use will depend on the question for debate, and will be roughly indicated by the issues.

For example, in preparation for a debate on the proposition, "Resolved, That high school secret fraternities should be prohibited," the rebuttal cards might be arranged in eight packs, labelled: "Legality," "Effect on morals," "Effect on scholarships," "Effect on school spirit," "Other methods," "School statistics," "Authorities commonly cited," "Objections to analogies from college fraternities." The only necessity is that the classification shall be such, in number and in headings, that any member of the team which is to employ the system can put his hand at once on the exact evidence needed.

PART II

DEBATING SOCIETIES: ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT

I. Directions for Organizing[1]

The debating society should play an important part in our educational system. Such men as Macaulay, Scott and Stevenson have testified to the value of literary and debating societies in their education; and there is no reason why, at the present day, a debating society should not occupy an equally important place in training people to think on public questions and to discuss them.

Of itself, the debating society furnishes valuable training and experience. For one thing, the members benefit because of the practice that it gives in parliamentary procedure. This, of course, should promote precision, accuracy and orderliness. It should stimulate ingenuity in applying set principles and rules in a practical way. The knowledge of parliamentary law that is gained in a debating society may well be of value in the activities of after life.

As the background for more formal debates, the society is also of value. In the first place, from its membership it furnishes the debaters. It also furnishes the occasion and the audience. The presence of the debating society gives opportunity for engaging in debating in many forms. Impromptu discussions may be held. Extemporaneous debates may be conducted (the extemporaneous debate differs from the impromptu discussion, in that the general subject to be talked upon is thoroughly studied by the speakers, but the specific phase of the question is announced a few minutes before the discussion takes place.) Formal debates may be held in which two or three speakers present the affirmative and negative of the question and rebuttal objections are given according to fixed rules. Moreover, lectures and program discus-

[1] Drury, Newton B. How to Organize and Conduct a Debating Society. *In* California University. Debating and Debating Societies. p. 11-13.

sions may take place and even mock trials may be engaged in if the members of the society have a legal bent.

In the organization of a debating society, there are two main steps: (1) The preliminary organization, and (2) the permanent organization.

Before the meeting at which the preliminary organization takes place is held, the field should be well canvassed. It should be determined just how much interest in the proposed debating society exists in the school or organization in question. Those who are interested should be urged to attend the first meeting in order that the project may be started with spirit. The time and place of the first meeting should be well advertised. A person who is interested and who is capable of presenting the plans of the society forcibly and with enthusiasm should be selected to preside as temporary chairman. It is necessary, also, to have certain people with ideas ready to lead the discussion as to the future plans of the society.

When the meeting has been called to order by the temporary chairman, a motion should be put and carried for the appointment of a constitution committee, and another for the appointment of a nominating committee. After a few speeches on the plans of the society, the meeting may then adjourn, to meet at an early date specified in the motion.

The constitution committee should consist of from three to five members and should meet and draw up a constitution to be presented to the society at its next meeting.

The nominating committee should prepare a list of the names to propose as candidates for president, vice president, secretary, and the other officers provided for in the constitution.

The second meeting, for the purpose of permanent organization, should take place shortly after the preliminary organization. At this time the temporary chairman should call for the report of the committee on the constitution and, article by article, the constitution should be read and discussed and voted upon. Then a vote should be taken upon the constitution in its final revised form as a whole. Next, election should be held of the various officers provided for in the constitution, according to the method laid down. After the permanent president of the society is elected, he should take the chair and conduct the election of the remaining officers. The standing committees provided for in the consti-

tution may be appointed by the president then and there, or he may announce an intention to appoint them at the next meeting. The same action may be taken in regard to any special committees for which there is demand. At this meeting plans for the future activities of the society should be discussed and, if possible, some definite program should be arranged for the third meeting.

Certain suggestions may be made at this point in regard to the conducting of the debating society.

MEMBERSHIP

Members of the society should be chosen in some way that would make membership valued. It will not to do to make a debating society exclusive, but at the same time it is fatal and destroys all enthusiasm to have every person granted membership regardless of interest or qualification. Some such procedure as a tryout, in which the candidates for membership make speeches, might be followed.

SIZE

The size of the society should be limited, for much more effective work can be done by a debating society of from fifteen to twenty, than can be accomplished by a society of thirty to forty-five. In case there is a greater number desiring membership than can be advantageously admitted, a second society can be formed. The presence of another organization offers opportunity for competition, which is of great value.

MEETINGS

Meetings should be held once every two weeks. To hold meetings more frequently than every two weeks would be to put too great a tax upon their interest. If meetings are held less frequently than this, the interest is apt to lag between sessions.

PROGRAM

The program of the different meetings should be interesting and varied. An attempt should be made to secure persons of standing in the community as visitors or as speakers at occassional meetings.

CONDUCTING MEETINGS

Meetings should always be conducted in an orderly manner, and the person in the chair should not tolerate any form of disorder. However, too much stress should not be laid upon the observations of the minute rules and regulations of parliamentary law. Time spent in technical quibbling and mere parliamentary fencing is, to a large extent, time wasted. Much can be done by the presiding officer in making parliamentary practice worth while if he adopts a policy of observing broad, general principles of parliamentary procedure without putting too much emphasis upon purely technical points.

PUBLICITY

Considerable publicity should be given to the meetings and debates, for that attaches importance to the activity of the society, and makes the members more anxious to attend and take part.

COMPETITION

Through inviting competition among the members and among different debating societies, those in charge should endeavor to keep up interest. At given intervals formal debates with outside societies should be held, and trials should be conducted in the society for the purpose of selecting members to represent the organization as a team in these formal debates.

a. Model Constitution and By-Laws[1]

The Constitution and By-Laws given here are suggested in the hope that they may serve as a model for high school literary societies. They may be modified and amended, shortened or lengthened, as the society sees fit. They are modeled somewhat after the constitutions and by-laws of the Dialectic and Philanthropic Literary Societies of the University of North Carolina.

Constitution of the.....Literary Society

PREAMBLE

Recognizing the permanent good that comes from individual self-expression and organized self-control we hereby form ourselves into a literary society, subject to the following constitution and by-laws.

[1] North Carolina University Record. Extension Series No. 6. p. 47-54. January, 1914. Constitution and By-Laws for High School Literary Societies.

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I

NAME AND MOTTO

SECTION 1. The name of this society shall be—"The..... Literary Society of....." The motto shall be "..... ....."

ARTICLE II

MEMBERSHIP

SECTION 1. Any student and any teacher in ..... High School may become by election an active member of this society, as provided for in Article II, Section 1, of the By-laws.

SECTION 2. Any person may become by election an honorary member of this society by vote of three fourths of the members present. He shall be entitled to all the privileges of an active member except voting and holding office.

ARTICLE III

GOVERNMENT

SECTION 1. The government of this society shall be vested in a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, a Censor, a Critic, a Reporter, a Membership Committee, a Program Committee, and a Committee on the Constitution. In all cases of final appeal a vote of two thirds of the members present shall control.

ARTICLE IV

MEETINGS—REGULAR

SECTION 1. Regular meetings shall be held on.....of .....week at .....o'clock.

MEETINGS—SPECIAL

SECTION 2. A special meeting may be called by the President. It shall be the duty of the President to see that the Secretary informs the members of such a meeting.

ARTICLE V

MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

SECTION 1. The first president every year shall appoint a committee of three, whose duty it shall be to secure, investigate, and report on all proposals for membership. This committee shall hold office throughout the school year.

ARTICLE VI

PROGRAM COMMITTEE

SECTION 1. At the first meeting of his term, each president shall appoint two persons who, together with himself, shall act as the program committee. It shall be the duty of this committee to formulate the programs, including the selection of questions for debate, and report the same to the society, and post them in some conspicious place, at least two weeks before the date for the holding of each program. At this time they shall also read the names of those members whom they have placed on duty. This committee shall have full power to place active members on the program as it may see fit. The society may at any time, by a majority vote, modify or change completely any program in the meeting at which it is reported. The program committee shall hold office until one week after the regular election of officers.

ARTICLE VII

COMMITTEE ON THE CONSTITUTION

SECTION 1. The committee on the constitution shall consist of three members. They shall be appointed by the first president at the beginning of each school year, and shall serve throughout the entire school year. In the event, however, that a member of this committee should be elected president the president shall then resign from his membership on the committee, and another shall be appointed in his place.

SECTION 2. Any amendment to the constitution or by-laws shall be referred to this committee. Said amendment shall lie over one week before final action is taken by the committee. In case of favorable action taken by the committee it shall be presented by the committee to the society and shall lie over one week before final action is taken by the society. In case of unfavorable action by the committee, the amendment may be brought before the society by its author, or any member of the society, in which case it shall lie over two weeks before final action is taken upon it.

SECTION 3. This committee shall consider the communication of any member who thinks he has been unjustly fined, and shall have power to abrogate these fines, provided the excuse be deemed sufficient. The action of this committee shall be final, unless its decision be reversed by special action of the

society. A vote of two thirds of the members present shall be necessary to reverse the decision of the committee.

ARTICLE VIII

AMENDMENT

SECTION 1. This constitution may be amended at a regular meeting by the vote of two thirds of the members present; provided, that notice of the proposed amendment be read at the two regular meetings that immediately precede.

SECTION 2. This constitution may be suspended at any meeting by a vote of four fifths of the members present; provided, that this suspension shall apply to this particular meeting alone.

BY-LAWS

ARTICLE I

ORDER OF EXERCISES

SECTION 1. The regular exercises of the society shall be conducted in the following order:

1. The roll call.
2. Reading, correction, and approval of the minutes of the last meeting.
3. Installation of officers.
4. Election of members.
5. Initiation of members.
6. Appointment of committee to decide the debate.
7. Order of exercises for the evening.
8. General debate.
9. Report of critic.
10. Decision of the committee to decide the debate.
11. Report of committees.
    a. Announcement by the program committee of the next two programs.
    b. Report of committee on the constitution.
    c. Reports of special committees.
    d. Report of the treasurer.
12. Election of officers.
13. Unfinished business.
14. New business.
15. Adjournment.

SECTION 2. In the regular debates of the society, the order and length of the speeches shall be as follows:

First affirmative, not less than four nor more than ten minutes.

First negative, not less than four nor more than ten minutes.

Second affirmative, not less than four nor more than ten minutes.

Second negative, not less than four nor more than ten minutes.

First affirmative, in rebuttal, not more than five minutes.

First negative, in rebuttal, not more than five minutes.

Second affirmative, in rebuttal, not more than five minutes.

Second negative, in rebuttal, not more than five minutes.

SECTION 3. Every debate shall be decided by a committee of three persons chosen by the president from the members or visitors present. No officer while on duty shall be required to serve on this committee.

SECTION 4. This society shall be governed by "Robert's Rules of Order" as parliamentary guide in all cases where it does not conflict with the constitution or by-laws.

ARTICLE II

ELECTION OF MEMBERS

SECTION 1. Every candidate shall make application for membership in writing. This application shall be reported to the society by the membership committee. The vote shall be by ballot, and three fourths of the members present must vote for the candidate in order for him to be elected to membership.

INITIATION OF MEMBERS

SECTION 2. The ceremony of initiating an active member shall be as follows: The president and members of the society shall stand; the chairman of the membership committee shall conduct the candidate to the desk of the president; the president shall then ask him if he has read the constitution and by-laws of the society; if he answers affirmatively, the president shall then put to him this question: "Do you pledge your honor that you will support the constitution and by-laws of the..... Literary Society, and to the best of your ability promote the welfare of the organization?" Upon receiving an affirmative reply, the president shall direct him to sign at once the roll of membership; and shall then say, "I hereby declare you to be an active member of this society."

EXPULSION FROM MEMBERSHIP

SECTION 3. On a written motion stating the charge, a member may be expelled from the society for any of these offenses: gross misconduct, persistent failure to perform duty, continued absence from the meetings of the society, deliberate failure to pay dues or fines.

ARTICLE III

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

SECTION 1. Officers of this society shall be elected by ballot, a majority of the votes cast electing. They shall be elected every eight weeks. No person shall be eligible to the same office for two successive terms.

TIME OF INSTALLATION

SECTION 2. The installation of an officer must take place at the second meeting after election; otherwise his office is vacant and must be filled immediately by the election and installation of a new officer. Offices vacant from any other cause must also be filled in like manner.

CEREMONY OF INSTALLATION

SECTION 3. The ceremony of installing officers shall be as follows: The acting president and the members shall stand; the acting president shall say, "The president elect will please come forward." He will then put to him the question: "Do you solemnly affirm that you will faithfully execute the duties of (here naming the office), and that you will protect and defend the constitution of the.....Literary Society?" Upon answering affirmatively, the president shall then take the chair and in similar form install in turn the other officers.

DUTY OF THE PRESIDENT

SECTION 4. The duty of the president shall be to preside at all meetings of the society; enforce a due observance of the constitution, by-laws, and rules of order; inflict all fines that are imposed on members of the society; and perform all the duties required of him by the constitution and by-laws.

DUTY OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT

SECTION 5. The duty of the vice-president shall be to perform all the duties of the President in the absence of that officer from society.

DUTY OF THE SECRETARY

SECTION 6. The duty of the secretary shall be to keep a record of the attendance and of the acts of the society, and to perform any services required of him by the constitution, by-laws, and rules of order.

DUTY OF THE TREASURER

SECTION 7. The duty of the treasurer shall be to collect all money due the society, to pay its debts that have been approved by the president, and secure receipts for their payment, and at the close of his term of office to deliver all property in his possession belonging to the society to his successor. He shall make a report at each meeting of the society in which he shall state the amount of money which he has on hand as treasurer, the members of the society who owe dues, assessments, or fines, the amount that each one owes, and when fines will begin to accumulate for the non-payment of these amounts.

DUTY OF THE CENSOR

SECTION 8. It shall be the duty of the censor to note down the names, together with the offenses, of all persons guilty of improper or disorderly behavior in the society, to report same to the society, and to the president, who shall inflict proper fines, and to give a list of the same to the treasurer for collection. But if there is no misconduct, he shall report that "The society has been in good order."

DUTY OF THE CRITIC

SECTION 9. (1.) The duty of the critic shall be to present a just criticism at each meeting of the debate in general and the work of each member who takes part in the program.

SECTION 9. (2.) It shall also be the duty of the critic to audit the books of the treasurer at the close of each term of the treasurer's office and make a report to the society.

DUTY OF THE REPORTER

SECTION 10. The duty of the reporter shall be to supply for publication in the local newspaper an account of each regular meeting, announcements of programs, and other items of interest pertaining to the society.

IMPEACHMENT

SECTION 11. If any officer is guilty of neglect of duty or of misconduct in office, he may be arraigned upon a written

accusation of any three members, at a regular meeting of the society, provided that a week's notice has been given and the accused has had the privilege of choosing a member as his counsel for defense. He shall be convicted only with the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present. If convicted he shall be subject to a reprimand from the presiding officer, fine, suspension, or expulsion, as the society may resolve.

ARTICLE IV

DUES

SECTION 1. The regular dues of this society shall be..... and shall be payable not later than.....

ASSESSMENTS

SECTION 2. An equal assessment on all active members may be imposed at any regular meeting by vote of a majority of the members of the society, this to be paid not later than some definite time, to be decided by the society.

INITIATION FEES

SECTION 3. The regular initiation fees of this society shall be ..... and shall be payable not later than ..... weeks after initiation.

FINES

SECTION 4. Any member absenting himself from the regular or special meetings of society without a valid excuse, such as sickness for instance, shall be fined ....., this to be paid within four weeks after it has been imposed.

SECTION 5. Any member failing to perform duty when put on the program by the committee, without a valid excuse, such as sickness, shall be fined ....., this to be paid within four weeks after it has been imposed.

SECTION 6. Any member guilty of misconduct, or of disrespect to the chair, shall be fined by the president a sum not less than ten cents nor exceeding one dollar, this to be paid within four weeks from the time that it was imposed.

SECTION 7. Any member failing to pay his fines, assessments, initiation fees, or dues, within the limits prescribed in this article shall be fined ..... per week until he pays up in full.

SECTION 8. Any member of a committee failing to perform

his duty as laid down in the constitution and by-laws, or rules of order, shall be fined ....., this to be paid within four weeks after it has been imposed.

ARTICLE V

AMENDMENT

SECTION 1. Any part of these by-laws may be amended at a regular meeting by the vote of two-thirds of the members present; provided, that notice of the proposed amendment be read at the two regular meetings that immediately precede.

SECTION 2. These by-laws may be suspended at any meeting by a vote of four-fifths of the members present; provided, that this suspension shall apply to this particular meeting alone.

2. MANAGEMENT AND PROCEDURE

a. Essential Rules of Parliamentary Practice

Inasmuch as all business brought before a deliberative assembly, such as a debating society, is presented in the form of a motion or resolution, it is necessary that the members of the society should be familiar with at least the principal forms of motions and the general principles of parliamentary procedure. Each society should be provided with a copy of Robert's "Rules of Order" or some other standard manual of parliamentary practice. For convenient reference, a brief summary of the most essential principles and motions, based on Robert's "Rules," is here set forth.

EXPLANATION OF TERMS

1. QUORUM.—It is customary to require that a certain percentage of the society's membership, called a quorum, be present before the society proceeds to transact business. This percentage is usually provided for in the constitution and by-laws.

2. OBTAINING THE FLOOR.—Before a member can make a motion or address the assembly in debate, it is necessary that he should obtain the floor. It is customary to do this by rising after the previous speaker has "yielded the floor," i. e., resumed his seat, and addressing the presiding officer by his official title, "Mr. President," etc. If the member is entitled to it, the presiding officer assigns him the floor by a nod of the head or by announcing his name.

3. The Motion.—A motion is a proposal that the society take certain action upon a question. It is made by a member's obtaining the floor as described and saying "I move that ....," stating the action he wishes to have taken. As a rule only one motion can be made by any member at one time.

4. Seconding the Motion.—Nearly every motion requires a second. This is done by a member's saying "I second the motion," which he does without waiting to obtain the floor, and, in small assemblies, even without rising. Where a motion is not seconded at once, the Chair shall ask "Is the motion seconded?"

5. Stating the Question.—When a motion has been made and seconded, it is the duty of the Chair, unless he rules it out of order, to state the question, i. e., put the question before the assembly for consideration. The usual form is "It is moved and seconded that....." followed by a statement of the motion itself. If the question is amendable or debatable, the Chair opens debate by saying "Are you ready for the question?"

6. Voting.—When debate is finished, the Chair asks again "Are you ready for the question?" He then restates the motion and follows by saying "All in favor will vote 'Aye'; opposed 'No.'" Voting may be done by acclamation, by raising the hand, by rising, or by written ballot. Unless otherwise provided for in the constitution, the vote should be taken by the first method, as this is most customary and consumes the least time.

7. Committee of the Whole.—When a question comes before the society that requires considerable discussion, the society resolves itself into a committee of the whole. This is done by motion. When the society goes into a committee of the whole the president appoints some member as a chairman of the committee. When the discussion is completed the committee rises, the president resumes the chair and the chairman of the committee reports the result.

8. Reports of the Committees.—A part of the business of each society is that of receiving the reports of committees. When a committee is called upon to report, the chairman secures the floor and says "The committee on.....begs leave to report that....., all of which is respectfully submitted." The report may be disposed of by anyone of the various kinds of motions.

MOTIONS

There are many kinds of motions, differing from one another both in the purpose for which they are to be used and also in rank and importance. Some motions may be debated, others may not. Some may be amended, may be postponed, may be referred to a committee, be reconsidered, be laid on the table, others may not. The principal forms of motions are classified here (1) according to purpose for which they are to be used and (2) according to nature and precedence.

MOTIONS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO PURPOSE

1. Where a member desires a motion to pass, but that the form first be changed, he may move:

(*a*) *To Amend.*—When the change to be made is trifling and can be made in the assembly.

(*b*) *To Commit or Refer.*—When much time will be required or more information must first be secured, it is better to *refer* the question to a committee.

2. Where a member desires to defer action on a motion until some future time, he may move:

(*a*) *To Postpone to a Certain Time.*—This puts off consideration of the question until a certain hour.

(*b*) *To Lay on the Table.*—This puts the question aside temporarily with the right to take it up at any time when this kind of business is in order:

3. When a member desires to shut off further debate upon a question entirely, or limit it to a certain time he may move:

(*a*) *To Move the Previous Question.*—This brings the assembly at once to a vote.

(*b*) *To Limit Debate.*—This determines a time when debate is to cease and the vote be taken.

4. When a member wishes to shut off further deliberation upon a question entirely, he may move:

(*a*) *To Object to Its Consideration.*—This is done before debate has begun.

(*b*) *To Postpone Indefinitely.*—If this motion is adopted, the main question is killed for the remainder of the session.

(*c*) *To Lay on the Table.*—For small assemblies this method is considered unfair.

5. When a member wishes to consider a question a second time, he may move:

(*a*) *To Take from the Table.*—When a question has not been voted on and has been laid on the table, this motion may be used to bring it up for consideration.

(*b*) *To Reconsider.*—When a motion has been adopted, rejected or postponed indefinitely, and one or more members have changed to the losing side, one on the prevailing side may make a motion to reconsider.

(*c*) *To Rescind.*—If a motion has been adopted, rejected or postponed indefinitely, and no one is both willing and able to move to reconsider the vote, it can be brought up again by moving to rescind. This requires a two-thirds vote, or a vote of a majority of the enrolled membership, unless notice has been given at a previous meeting.

6. When a member wishes to prevent final action on a motion in an unusually small or unrepresentative meeting, he moves:

(*a*) *To Reconsider and Have Entered on the Minutes.*—This is done when it is apparent that the action taken is against the views of the majority of the society. The member desiring to make the motion should vote with the prevailing side and then move to reconsider the vote and have it entered on the minutes. This motion can be made only on the day the vote in question was taken.

GENERAL CLASSIFICATION OF MOTIONS

The chart on page 88 shows briefly what action may or may not be taken on each of the motions most often used.

Motions are generally classified in five groups:

1. Privileged motions.
   - (*a*) To fix a time to which to adjourn.
   - (*b*) To adjourn.
   - (*c*) To raise a question of privilege.
   - (*d*) To call for the orders of the day.

Privileged motions, on account of their importance, take precedence over all other questions. They are designed especially for securing the rights, comfort and convenience of the members.

2. Incidental motions.
   - (*a*) Questions of order and appeal.
   - (*b*) Suspension of the rules.
   - (*c*) To object to consideration of a question.

Motions.	Must be seconded?	Is debatable?	Can be amended?	Committed?	Postponed?	Postponed indefinitely?	Reconsidered?	Laid on the table?	Renewed?	Subject to previous question?	Vote necessary to pass.
To fix time to which to adjourn.	Yes	No[1]	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	...	No	Majority.
To adjourn.	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	Majority.
To raise a question of privilege.[4]	No	Yes	No[4]	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Majority.
To call for the orders of the day (Special.)	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Two-thirds.
Questions of order and appeal.	Yes	Yes[2]	No	No	No	No	Yes	No[12]	No	Yes	Majority.
To suspend the rules.	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Usually two-thirds.
To object to consideration of a question.	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes[9]	No	Yes	Yes	Two-thirds.
To lay on the table.	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	Majority.
To move the previous question.[5]	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No[13]	Yes	No	Two-thirds.
To close or limit debate	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes[10]	No	Yes[16]	No	Two-thirds.
To extend limits of debate.	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes[10]	No	Yes[16]	No	Two-thirds.
To postpone to a certain time.	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Majority.
To commit or refer.	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes[11]	Yes[11]	Yes	Yes[17]	Majority.
To amend....	Yes	Yes[3]	Yes	Yes[6]	Yes[6]	Yes[6]	Yes	Yes[11]	No	Yes[17]	Majority.
To postpone indefinitely.	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Majority.
To take from the table.	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	Majority.
To reconsider.	Yes	Yes[8]	No	No	No[7]	Yes[8]	No	Yes[15]	Yes	Yes	Majority.
The main question, or principal motion.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Majority.

[1] If made in an assembly when no question is pending, this becomes a main motion and may be debated. In such case, however, it is no longer privileged.

[2] Each member may speak once. Questions of appeal are undebatable when made while an undebatable question is pending.

[3] Undebatable when the main question is undebatable.

(*d*) Motions relating to methods of voting or of making nominations.

(*e*) Requests growing out of business pending; as to ask for information; withdraw a motion; or similar privileges.

Incidental motions are those growing out of other motions. They take precedence over and must be decided before the motions out of which they grew.

3. Subsidiary motions.

(*a*) To lay on the table.

(*b*) To move the previous question.

(*c*) To limit or extend the limits of debate.

(*d*) To postpone to a certain time.

(*e*) To commit or refer.

(*f*) To amend.

(*g*) To postpone indefinitely.

Subsidiary motions are those made for the purpose of disposing of the main motion in some other way than by directly adopting or rejecting it.

4. The main question.

This is the principal motion or question under discussion. Main motions are those that bring before the assembly either some new business, or relate to the regular business of the assembly.

5. Miscellaneous motions.

(*a*) To take from the table.

[4] If member who raises a question of privilege finds it necessary to make a motion, this motion becomes the immediately pending question and is subject to the rules governing any main motion.

[5] The previous question may be moved only when the immediately pending question is amendable or debatable. Unless the question upon which it is moved is specified, it applies only to the immediately pending question.

[6] With the main question.

[7] Unless it is a motion to reconsider the vote on the main question. In that case it may be postponed once.

[8] Unless the question is undebatable.

[9] An affirmative vote cannot be reconsidered.

[10] If reconsideration is moved before the time limit has expired

[11] Cannot be reconsidered after the committee has taken up the subject, but by two-thirds vote the committee may be discharged.

[12] Laying an appeal on the table tables everything out of which the appeal rose.

[13] Not without tabling the main question and all motions applied to it then pending.

[14] Tables the entire subject.

[15] Kills the motion to reconsider.

[16] If lost, it may be renewed after there has been sufficient progress in debate to make it a new question.

[17] Forces vote at once.

(*b*) To reconsider.
(*c*) To rescind.
(*d*) To renew.

These are motions, which, because of the rules governing them, and because of their use, do not properly come under any of the above heads.

All of these motions are arranged in order of rank, beginning with the highest, except the motion to reconsider. Each motion takes precedence over one of a lower order, but none except the motion to amend, can supersede one of a higher order. The motion to reconsider is in order at any time, and can be applied to every question except to adjourn, to suspend the rules, and to lay on the table (when decided in the affirmative).

b. Debating Tryouts[1]

Method of Selecting Teams.—Debating teams should always be selected by competitive tryouts in which each contestant is allowed a specified time to present his side of the question. The time allowed each speaker should in no case be less than five minutes, and it is not frequently necessary to allow longer than ten minutes to give the debater a fair test. The tryout speech should consist of both rebuttal and constructive argument, and should be an effort to present as effectively as possible the one or two essential reasons why the proposition is or is not sound.

In recent years the practice has grown up in college debating tryouts of assigning the general question such as Income Tax, Immigration, Government Ownership, several weeks before the tryout, and a few hours or a day before the tryout of announcing the exact wording of the general question and of drawing for sides. This plan is a good one because it requires careful and extensive preparation on all phases and both sides of the question, and because it guarantees to some extent an extemporaneous presentation of the arguments.

Plan for Conducting Tryout.—A convenient method of assigning sides and positions in the tryout is to have the contestants draw numbers by lot, those receiving the odd numbers supporting the affirmative, those receiving the even numbers, supporting the negative. Number one, the first affirmative, should divide his time and be required to give a short rebuttal speech after number two, the first negative, has spoken. The

[1] Jones, L. Manual for Debaters. p. 26-8. Univ. of Wash. 1913.

speakers then follow in the order of their assignment. Each contestant should hear only the speech to which he is to reply because he could otherwise get valuable suggestions from preceding speakers on the same side of the question.

If the number of contestants is large or if there is some doubt in the minds of the judges as to the relative ability of the debaters, those who have no possible chance of making places may be eliminated in the first tryout and additional tryouts may be held to make the final selection. In the second tryout the speakers may be required to debate the other side of the question, and give more extended rebuttal speeches.

The best judges for debate tryouts are the instructors in the schools holding the tryouts, or others who know the debaters more or less intimately. Complete strangers or outsiders frequently make poor tryout judges because they decide entirely upon the showing made in the tryout and place little or no emphasis on what the debater might be able to do in an actual debate. It is a very common fact that many excellent debaters show up very poorly in tryouts where the inspiration of a real debate is usually lacking, and that brilliant tryout debaters sometimes fall down in the actual debate because they lack the combative spirit necessary for the most effective debating.

I. SUGGESTIONS FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF A TEACHER OF ARGUMENTATION AND DEBATE.[1]

[The method of selecting contestants described in the previous article is intended especially for the society intending to compete in debate with other organizations. There must be many debating societies whose efforts are limited to contests among their own members only, or who, if engaging in inter-society debates, wish also to conduct a series of local debates for the sake of giving all of their members an equal opportunity to take part. The following article, although a record of class-room work in debate actually carried out by one teacher of argumentation, is included here because it describes methods that could be adapted to the needs of the individual debating society wishing to enlist all of its members in the actual work of debate.—*Comp.*]

When the class is ready for formal argument, after some preliminary work in argumentation and informal debate, we begin on debates in earnest. Some half-dozen live, present-day subjects are given out and each student hands in a first and

[1] English Journal. 2: 389-90. June, 1913. Work in Debates. A. G. Grandy.

second choice. These preferences are followed out as far as possible and the class divided into teams of six, three on each side of the question. After a week of general reading, note-taking, and discussion on *both* sides of the question, sides are assigned. The class period during all this is used for conference between teacher and pupil and between colleagues. Good references are brought into class and listed on the blackboard, and the interest runs higher and higher as the material grows and the possibilities of the subject begin to appear. This year our subjects were on the Panama Canal, the parcel post, suffrage and the six-year term for President.

At the end of three weeks of solid work of gathering material, dividing points among colleagues, etc., outlines of the *whole* debate are prepared for the teacher's inspection This year I was fortunate in having in my class six boys who had won big interscholastic debates; so instead of pitting them against young, totally inexperienced debaters, I made them captains over some of the several squads who were at work on their subjects, and the way these captains worked with and for their charges more than vindicated the experiment.

By the fifth week all is in readiness. We dress up the classroom to resemble a clubroom with tables for the chairman (a member of the class) and long tables on either side for the affirmative and the negative. Outside judges are asked in, the teacher sinks into the background, a good many visitors appear, and the debate progresses with due formality. Each of the six speakers has a five-minute speech with one minute extra allowed for rebuttal, the first speaker on the affirmative having three minutes for his rebuttal and to close the debate.

This, it will be readily seen, consumes all of a forty-minute period, allowing only a little time for the sergeant-at-arms appointed by the chair to collect the decisions of the judges. It takes four days of a week to run off all the debates, but the interest of the students and their pride in their success more than repay the teacher for her many hours of drilling and rehearsing. And be it said to the credit of those concerned that this year, out of fifty Juniors scheduled to appear, *not one* was absent on the day appointed for his debate. Not one of them failed, and many obtained results which they, and perhaps their classmates and teachers, had deemed impossible. To show to what an extent the interets in the "Junior debates" prevades the entire school, it might be added that at the closing debate of the

series recently given, just 90 people were crowded into an average classroom and there was not the slightest trace of disorder.

c. Coaching[1]

Dangers and Advantages of Coaching.—A great variety of opinion exists as to how much and what kind of coaching should be given to the debaters. Some regard a debate on the same basis as an athletic contest, and contend that since the primary object is to win any amount of coaching is justifiable. Others think that the system of coaching is so fraught with evils that the safest policy is to allow no coaching whatever. Probably neither of these extreme views is correct. The first policy usually results in a debate, not between the members of the debating teams, but between the respective coaches. The coaches sometimes collect the evidence, make the outline, even write the speeches, and the debaters become mere parrots, memorizing and reciting the well rounded sentences that have been prepared for them. A debate between teams coached in this manner is not a debate at all; it is merely a declamatory contest. On the other hand, where no coaching at all is given, the result is hardly less unsatisfactory. Unless the debaters have had some experience, they come to the contest with inadequate preparation, with no clear conception of the relative importance of the points which they wish to present, and with no logical arrangement or plan either for the main speeches or for the rebuttal.

Amount of Coaching Desirable.—Some coaching is undoubtedly desirable, and the only question is, what extent of coaching and what kind of coaching is for the best interests of the individual debater. The debating coach may very properly assist the debaters in preparing bibliographies and in collecting books, reports, pamphlets and other source material which is to be used in the preparation of the debate, but he should not do the actual reference work of reading the articles and preparing the data and notes. In preparing the case the coach should meet with the debaters, discuss fully with them every phase of the question and so lead them by their own mental processes to work out the case for themselves. In the practice debates which are held, the coach should follow the same plan of criticism and suggestion, but should be careful not to go too far in impressing his own ideas on the debaters. A mediocre case well worked out by the debater will be of more benefit to him and more effectively pre-

[1] Jones, L. Manual for Debaters. p. 31-3. Univ. of Wash. 1913.

sented than an excellent case which is the product of the coach's mind. It goes without saying that the practice engaged in by some debate coaches of writing the speeches of the debaters is absolutely reprehensible and the worst kind of fraud. In all probability the coach could write a much better speech than the debater could, and the debate might be won as a result of that better speech. The purpose of debating is not primarily to win or to improve the mind or reputation of the debate coach, but to develop the mind and powers of speaking of the individuals who are participating in it.

RESTRICTIONS ON COACHING.—In contracts between high schools or colleges it is very desirable that some provision regarding coaching be made. The constitution and by-laws of the Whitman County and Spokane County High School Debating Leagues of this state contain sections limiting coaching. The following is an extract from the constitution of the Whitman County League:

> Coaching shall be limited to:
> (1) Instruction in the art of debating in general;
> (2) Help in the collection of material bearing on the question;
> (3) Correction of such errors in English, grammar and rhetoric as would ordinarily be corrected in regular class work in English.
> (4) Drill in delivery.
>
> The preparation of the argument shall be entirely the work of the students. At least three days before each debate the coach of each team shall sign and send to the principal of the opposing high school the following statement: "I hereby certify that to the best of my knowledge the preparation of the argument for this debate has been entirely the work of the members of my team who will participate."
>
> The team must not be drilled or coached by an outside party, but must represent the work of the school.

These restrictions are perhaps a little too rigid in limiting the amount of coaching. It is undoubtedly safe and reasonable to permit the coach to discuss with the debaters the various arguments which are to be presented, to point out errors in reasoning, and to suggest ways of improving the case.

I. EVILS OF OVER-COACHING[1]

The most serious evil which unappreciative teachers have brought upon high-school debate is that of over-coaching. So gross have been the offenses in this direction that they surpass the bounds of honor. A team representing an Ohio city of ten

[1] English Journal. 3: 94-8. February, 1914. Appreciation and Management of High School Debate. A. T. Otis.

thousand inhabitants last winter confessed after the contest (which they won [?]) that their coach—a woman teacher of English—wrote their direct argument and that they themselves were practically ignorant of the subject discussed. Their rebuttal, instead of being framed from prepared material arranged on the platform to combat the opposition, was actually read verbatim from sheets written before the occasion and briefly annotated during the discussion by the alternate, the only member of the team who had carefully studied the question. This is an authentic case, for which the writer has the proof. He himself saw another team, representing a New York village of five thousand population, read their refutation speeches in a similar manner. But in this case there was no proof but that the speakers wrote what they read. This is not high-school debate. It is the declamation of a joint-argument between English teachers. No wonder some of us are so discouraged as almost to despair of the successful continuance of interscholastic contests. To frame a set of rules under which all interscholastic debating must be coached would be a difficult piece of work, but this is the very task to which we must address ourselves. A coach is very useful, almost inevitable. But no boy profits from dishonest or from unappreciative coaching. The coach has no right to think up an argument for the team. He should simply direct and suggest. He may rightly put materials before the team, advise them when they seek guidance, show them orderly methods and cunning devices. He may criticize their outlines, but not rewrite them. He may cut mixed metaphors from their speeches, but not mixed arguments. Some such rules as these are not only for the sake of honesty, but for the sake of the boy. He may win the other way; but he will never learn to debate nor to become the self-reliant speaker and clear-headed thinker that real debating would make him.

d. Judging the Debate[1]

Uncertainty of the Judges' Decision.—The decision of the judges is not the most important feature of the debate. The really essential things are that the contest is a genuine intellectual battle between the opposing teams, and that each side has put forward its strongest arguments in a convincing manner. The side which loses the decision gets fully as much good from the discussion as the side which wins. In evenly contested

[1] **Jones, L. Manual for Debaters. p. 31. Univ. of Wash. 1913.**

debates the decision is largely a matter of luck, depending upon the individual preference of the judges. It is impossible in probably a majority of debates to say positively that one side has won and that the other side has lost. The judges' decision at best is merely an approximation in many cases. This is not a reflection upon the judges, but a recognition of the fact that it is impossible to secure exactness and certainty in what is essentially an inexact and uncertain matter. In courts of law, an elaborate system of rules has developed governing the examination of witnesses and admissibility and weight of evidence, the purpose of which is to render a correct decision possible. Yet, even here, the number of appeals and reversals, of miscarriages of justice, testify that the decisions are not always right. How, therefore, can the decision of the judges in a debate where there are no such rules of evidence, where the questions under discussion are of far greater breadth and difficulty than purely legal propositions, and where the judges are not experts, be any more than a mere estimate?

But while recognizing the impossibility of always deciding a debate correctly, it is still desirable to have judges. The desire to win is the strongest possible stimulus to a thorough study of the question. There is no other force in the world so effective in encouraging the complete mastery of a question as the desire to conquer an opponent in a fair and friendly contest. To eliminate this element would be to withdraw the main incentive to hard work in the preparation for the debate. For this purpose, if for no other, the judges should be retained.

Selection of Judges.—Considerable care should be exercised in the selection of judges. Nearly all questions have a radical and a conservative side and it is desirable that both elements should be present on the board of judges. Sometimes it is possible to secure capable judges who have no pronounced opinions on the question or predilection toward one side or the other. But if the question is a public one, every person who would be called upon to act as a judge has probably formed some opinion which cannot help but influence his decision in some degree. Quite frequently this fact operates unfairly against the side which he favors; because of his desire to be absolutely fair he may decide against the side in which he believes.

The best policy to follow in making up the board of judges

is to select men who are interested in and well-informed on public questions, who have broad sympathies and upright characters, and who have no personal interest in the outcome of the debate.

Instruction to Judges.—It is always wise to give a few definite instructions to the judges. Most of those who are called on to act as judges for debates understand that they are to base their verdict on the merits of the arguments as presented and not on the merits of the question, but occasionally one finds a judge who consciously permits the latter consideration to affect his decision. In a recent high school debate one of the judges explained his verdict to the losing team in these words, "You boys certainly put up the best debate, but you had the wrong side of the question." The questions which are selected for debating are usually pretty evenly balanced, but the specific instruction should always be given to the judges to ignore in awarding the decision, their personal judgment in regard to the merits of the question.

In judging the debate, both argument and delivery should be taken into account, but no attempt should be made to allow arbitrarily a certain per cent for argument and a certain per cent for delivery. The argument and its presentation are so blended that they cannot be separated and estimated apart from each other. The very strength of an argument frequently depends almost entirely on the manner in which it is presented. It is generally agreed, however, that argument is more important than delivery.

The old practice of deciding a debate on the relative number of points advanced and proved by each side is obviously absurd. It is not the number of points, but the strength and importance of the points, which should determine the verdict. A large number of points is more apt to be an evidence of improper preparation and analysis than a sign of thorough mastery of the question. Ordinarily there are only a few strong arguments in favor of and against a proposition. The great debates of history have more often been won by a single invincible argument than by a number of scattered points. The intelligent judge recognizes that the best debating consists in selecting the few strong arguments, and concentrating all attention on them.

In preparing their verdicts the judges should not be allowed to confer. Frequently out of deference to some person of

prominence who is acting as judge, the other judges acquiesce in his decision when they would have decided otherwise if the conference had not been held. Also a strong-minded or obstinate judge often succeeds in leading the other judges to vote against their better judgment. When the judges confer the audience is kept in needless suspense, and the winning team is often cheated out of a unamimous verdict by the giving of a consolation vote to the losing side.

1. Instructions to Judges[1]

The following sections from the constitution of the Montana High School Debating League sum up the important matters to which judges should attend. A few explanatory notes are added in parenthesis.

VI. 3. At all contests the debaters shall be separated from the audience and shall receive no coaching while the debate is in progress.

(It is far easier to deliver a memorized speech than to talk "extemporaneously" from notes. High school debating is valuable largely to the degree that it teaches young people to think and to express their thoughts effectively. Debaters who do "speak from their feet" should be given precedence over those who have merely memorized declamations. "Extemporaneous" speaking does not preclude, of course, the most thorough preparation. Judges will do much toward raising the standards of debating if they will distinguish between declamation and speaking from the floor.)

5. No new argument is allowed in any of the last six speeches.

(New *evidence* may well be introduced into these rebuttal speeches, but new *arguments* are forbidden.)

VII. 1. At each contest there shall be three judges who shall be selected on the basis of capability and impartiality.

(*a*) During the debate the judges shall sit apart from one another.

(*b*) They shall base their decision on the merits of the debate, not on the merits of the question.

(This is necessary in the very nature of academic debating. Sides are often assigned by lot. The problem before the judges

[1] Montana. University Extension Department. Montana High School Debating League. p. 13-16. August, 1914.

is not to decide which is *right,* but rather which team has presented the truth on its side most effectively and persuasively. The "Suggestions to Judges," given below, are intended as further assistance in the application of this section.)

(*c*) Each judge at the conclusion of the contest, without consulation with any other judge, shall write on a card the word "affirmative" or "negative," seal it in an envelope, and deliver it to the presiding officer, who shall open the envelope in the sight of the two leaders and announce to the audience the decision.

Suggestions to Judges

(To be read before each debate.)

The purpose of these suggestions is to make clear to both judges and debaters what is expected from them, and thus to assist the judges in the performance of their task, often difficult and perplexing, and the debaters in their preparation and practice.

The distinction made between "argument" and "presentation" is purely academic, but it is necessary and important. "A debate is not a declamatory contest; neither is it a dry, uninteresting statement of quotations, facts and figures. A good scholastic debate is a strong, effective presentation of a clear and logical thought upon the platform with opponent. A judge should carefully weigh both excellence in thinking and excellence in speaking; he should award his decision to the team which shows the most effective combination of the two in vital give-and-take discussion." Of course, skilful thinking is more important than skilful speaking, and should be so rated.

A. ARGUMENT

The matter of these pages is largely taken from the bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, "How to Judge a Debate." These pages have not been officially adopted by the debating league, and schools are free to modify them as they please.

1. Each member of the teams should show general knowledge of both sides of the question.

2. The debaters should confine themselves to a few main issues of the question, avoiding the unimportant, so that the debate falls into a few sharply marked divisions and is not a mere jumble of statements.

3. They should define a clear-cut, intelligent interpretation

of the question early in the debate. If each side contends for a different interpretation of the question, the wise judge will agree with the side which upholds the simple intended meaning, the meaning which an intelligent man attempting to arrive at the real issues, would give to the question. Far-fetched, technical, quibbling interpretations should be discouraged.

4. Rebuttal should be confined to the main issues and may well be scattered through the debate. A marked difference in the style of the rebuttal speeches and those of direct argument is a sign of poor preparation.

B. PRESENTATION

1. A vigorous, aggressive conversational style is best.

2. Grammar and diction should uniformly be good, but occasional slips, often indicative of extemporaneous speaking, should not be penalized.

3. Gestures should be simple and natural. It is better to have none than to be artificial.

4. The signals to cease should be scrupulously attended to; every speaker should stop at once, even if in the middle of a sentence.

5. About the greatest confession of weakness is to run out of things to say and stop before the bell.

6. The greatest elements in effective presentation are earnestness and clear thinking; these may even overbalance roughness, awkwardness and inexperience.

7. Debate is a contest, and the preference should be given to the team who actually meet the arguments of the opponents, who handle their notes with familiarity and command, who show, in short, that their rebuttal is a matter of present thought and not of memorizing.

3. Interscholastic Debating Leagues

a. Forms of Organization[1]

Orginally an interscholastic debate was carried on by six students, three from each of the competing schools. There was but one contest each year, held, as a rule, alternately at each of the schools. The members of the visiting team made the journey alone, save for a faculty supervisor, and their fellow students,

[1] Education. 34 : 416-20. March, 1914. Group Systems in Interscholastic Debating. D. E. Watkins.

left behind at home, were content to hear the report next morning, except as a few ardent friends of the team waited for reports by wire.

But anything savoring of contest could not long resist taking on, in some measure, the artificial enthusiasm of athletic meets, and recognizing, in addition, the advantage always possessed by a team speaking before a friendly audience, there soon developed two annual contests, one at each school. Manifestly, under this system, it must often happen that each school would win one decision, and there would develop a tie, but principals, generally, and often the members of the team themselves, rather recoiled from attempting a third contest, with the attendant arduous preparation, so that the frequent recourse of athletic teams, "the rubber," seldom met with favor in the field of debate. Moreover, the chances for a true measure of ability, even if the third contest were indulged in, were not at all good. In each debate a new question was called for by both the debaters and the audiences, and there was always the lurking possibility that this question might not be evenly balanced. Further source of dissatisfaction was found in the fact that even two debates, with an entirely new preparation for each event, seriously taxed the energies of the students involved. So, on the whole, the practice of holding more than one interscholastic debate a year was quite generally deplored.

But Young America would not thus be arbitrarily deprived of his chance to win his spurs, and he conceived the idea of debating upon the same question with different schools, this plan possessing the advantage that he measured himself with more than one antagonist, and that he was enabled to do it without being burdened with a second long period of reading and general preparation. This feeling on the part of the debaters themselves was seconded by the policy among state universities and some small colleges of organizing state-wide leagues, where, by a system of pyramids, the championship of a whole state might be determined.

However, even this plan was soon found unsatisfactory. The series was too long, as many as seven debates being required to determine the championship of eight schools. A change of sides was often found necessary also, since two negative teams or two affirmative teams might very well happen to win in any group of four schools, and this proved to require almost as much work

as was necessitated under the older plan of debating a new question. There was still the evil attendant upon transporting large bodies of student enthusiasts, often late at night, and, while there was a gain in more thorough work on account of the supervision of higher institution of learning, the publishing of bibliographies, and the recommendation of the study of books on the theory and art of debating, the plan, as a whole, was still found to be far from ideal.

In the meantime there had developed at the universities what is known as the "triangular" debating league, and this was at once appropriated by the high school debating interests. Large numbers of "triangles" were organized throughout the country. By this plan each school is represented by two teams, one affirmative team and one negative team. Usually all the negative teams debate away from home, since the burden of proof resting upon the affirmative is thought to be counterbalanced by the advantage of speaking before the home audience. Thus the negative team from school A (supposing the three schools in the league to be represented by A, B and C) debates the affirmative team from B at B, the negative team from B debates the affirmative team from C at C, and the negative team from C debates the affirmative team from A at A. Clearly this system is a great step in advance. Six students, instead of three, are given opportunity to show their mettle in forensic contests. The dangers of an ill-balanced question are obviated for if the question should prove one-sided, the results generally show an affirmative or negative victory all around. The debates are all held on the same evening and the championship is decided without delay. There is no transportation of large bodies of students, for each high school has enough to do in supporting its own home team. The score in victories, while usually resulting in a double victory for one school, a victory and a defeat for another, and a double defeat for the third, may, of course, stand one victory and one defeat all around, but in this case most schools decide the championship according to the number of judges' ballots won, and this puts the possibility of a draw much further off. The plan simplifies to a great degree the preparation of the various teams. There is no longer the awful dread attendant upon not knowing "what the other side will say." That is supplied by the other local team, defending the opposite side of the question. There is a very much greater chance, among young debaters, of arriving at the

real issues, since the informal "combats"—and they often prove to be just that—serve to sift pretty thoroughly the truth from the chaff. On the whole, the "triangular" plan has been found to be about the best thus far developed.

A further development of the "triangular" system is found in what has come to be known as "the Knox triple triangle" system, originated at Knox College. In this system three ordinary triangles are built into a larger triangle, nine schools being thus included in the league. The debates are conducted in a manner identical with that in use in the ordinary "triangular" formation, and the championship decided in the same way. The plan is plainly superior to any system where the elimination is accomplished by pairs, for, whereas ordinarily seven debates are necessary to determine the championship of eight schools, under this form of organization two debates decide the championship of nine schools. And this is done without any change of sides or additional preparation, something not at all certain under the older systems. So great are the advantages of this new method, that it is almost certain of adoption in larger leagues. Twenty-seven schools could unite under this plan and have the championship decided in three debates, and, if it became desirable—as it very well might under the patronage of some large state university—the championship of eighty-one schools could be determined in four debates, which is just half the number of debates required under the older system to decide the championship of sixteen schools.

Two modifications of the "triangular" formation are found in the "dual debate" and the "pentangular league." In the "dual debate" two schools exchange teams, that is, each school has an affirmative and a negative team, and one of these visits the other school, so that two debates are held simultaneously, one in each place. The plan is better than the older one, in which each school had one team. It possesses most of the advantages of the "triangular" system, but there is a greater possibility of a tie in decisions or the number of judges' ballots won, and, in case the championship of a larger league is being looked forward to, the process of elimination is much slower. Wherever it is difficult to secure three schools to form a league, however, the "dual" form is, without a doubt, the best. In the "pentangular" league formation five schools unite and debate in the same way as in the "triangular" system. The plan can scarcely be said to possess

great advantages, however. Of course, it has the influence which comes with numbers. It is better suited, perhaps, to universities and colleges than to high schools. There is no definite assurance that two schools will not secure the same score in decision and judges' ballots, and there are two schools in the league each year with which the other schools do not come into contest in any way. A much better plan would probably be found in a "dual triangle" formation, where the winners in two triangles—six schools—would be brought together.

b. The Interscholastic Organization of Texas[1]

Our state interscholastic organization differs from that of most other similar organizations with which I am acquainted. It may be interesting, therefore, and suggestive to teachers of public speaking to set forth in some detail the plan of organization and method of conducting the debate and declamation contests.

The organization includes, as has been said, all schools in Texas, both public and private, that are below college rank. Contests among the representatives of the schools in debate and declamation are begun in the county as the basic unit. Of course, local contests must be held in the schools to determine the representatives to the county contests, and in many cases sub-county contests are held. We are stressing particularly the matter of county organization for the purpose of conducting the various contests held under the auspices of the league. During the present year we have effected the organization of 126 to 256 counties in the state. These county organizations have regularly appointed officers, usually chosen, at the annual county teachers' institute. When not so chosen, the officers are designated by the state executive committee. We therefore reach, through such county organizations, many schools whose pupils may never reach the high school, let alone a college or university. In other words, the university, in keeping with the altruistic spirit in which all extension work should be conducted, is making no direct bid for students from the schools. The purpose of our organization, as stated in the constitution, is "to foster in the schools of Texas the study and practice of public speaking and debating as an aid in the preparation of citizenship; to assist in organizing and standardizing athletics in the schools of the

[1] Quarterly Journal of Public Speaking. 1 : 50-64. April, 1915. State Organization for Contests in Public Speaking. E. D. Shurter.

state; and to promote county and district interscholastic contests in debate, declamation, essay writing, spelling and athletics."

We have found that our county organization of schools for the purpose of an annual "get-together" meeting, for holding these various contests, has a marked influence in promoting school and community spirit. The county winners in debate and declamation go to a district elimination contest, the state for this purpose being divided into sixteen districts, each with a central town or city as a center, and with a regularly appointed district executive committee consisting of a director-general, a director of debate and declamation, and a director of athletics. Following the district contests the winners come to the university the first Friday and Saturday in May of each year for the final state contests. We therefore have at the university each year sixteen two-men debating teams, sixteen contestants in senior declamation, and sixteen contestants in junior declamation. Elimination contests in debating are held at the university for selecting the two best teams. Elimination contests are also held in each division of declamation to reduce the number of each division one-half, so that the final public contest in declamation consists of sixteen speakers, eight in each division. The delegates to the state contest are assisted in the matter of traveling expenses by rebates of the railroad fares in such percentage as funds will permit. Handsome loving cups in each event, sets of books offered by various publishers, gold and silver medals for those winning first and second places, respectively, are awarded. The two best debating teams are also given free scholarship in the university. Including tennis and track, we had at the last annual state meeting a total of 634 delegates, 491 of these being entitled to a rebate of railroad fare. There was a total of 119 schools represented, 82 teachers accompanying the delegates.

The rules for the contest in debating differ, I think, from most of the state interscholastic organizations. A single question is announced in advance each year, and this question is used in the local, sub-county, county district, and final state contests. The rules require that a debating team must be prepared to take either side of the question upon short notice. I am well aware that objections to this plan may easily be urged. Experience, however, shows that the objections are more academic than practical. In the first place, with our plan of using a single

question in all eliminating contests, it would, of course, be impracticable to try to assign the schools as to sides in advance. Further, we have found that it is highly educational, especially for the country boys, to require that they prepare both sides of a debatable question.

Helps are afforded the debater on the question annually by the preparation of a bulletin containing a bibliography and selected arguments on both sides of the subject of debate. We of course aim to select subjects that are worth investigation, that are adapted to the average high-school boy, and that may exert some influence, not only among the pupils in the schools, but among the school patrons who hear the debates. The first year we used the subject of initiative and referendum for Texas, the next year the question of woman suffrage, last year was discussed the question of a particular kind of compulsory education law for the state, and this year the debate is on the question of a reading test for immigrants.

The educational test of these debates throughout the state, aside from the training afforded in public speaking, can hardly be overestimated. A somewhat conservative estimate shows that the total number of debates held in the state during the current year, including the local, sub-county, county, district and state contests, was 2,096; that 3,000 boys participated in these debates, and that the aggregate number of people in the audience was 99,100. The influence of these debates, which has been recognized by publicists, has reached even the legislative halls this year, and was in no small measure responsible for the compulsory education law of the last session of our state legislature.

It may be added that originality and aptness in thinking on one's feet are stressed in the rules and in the time allowed each team in direct debate and in rebuttal. Each of the two speakers on each side is given ten minutes in his main constructive argument. Then the affirmative speakers are allowed four minutes each for rebuttal, the negative speakers five minutes each, and one affirmative speaker closes the debate with a three-minute rejoinder. We find that this arrangement avoids the awkwardness of changing the order for rebuttal from the main speeches and at the same time permits the affirmative to close the discussion. Argument and rebuttal work are stressed in the rules as follows: "In deciding which team has done the more effective debating, the judges shall take into consideration argument and delivery in both main and rebuttal speeches. In cases of doubt (that is,

where the two teams are about equally balanced) argument shall be stressed relatively more than delivery, and rebuttal work more than the main speeches."

c. *Constitution and By-Laws of the Oregon High School Debating League*[1]

ARTICLE I

NAME

This organization shall be known as the Oregon High School Debating League.

ARTICLE II

OBJECT

The object of this league is improvement in debate among the students in the high schools of the State of Oregon.

ARTICLE III

MEMBERSHIP

SECTION 1. Any public high school in Oregon which maintains a debating society throughout the year may become a member of this league upon application to the executive committee of the league and shall retain such membership so long as it conforms to the constitution and by-laws.

SECTION 2. All schools seeking admission for any particular year must join by October 15 of that year.

SECTION 3. The annual dues of $1 shall be paid to the treasurer by October 15. Failure to pay dues shall cancel membership.

ARTICLE IV

OFFICERS, COMMITTEE, DUTIES

SECTION 1. The officers of the league shall be a president and a secretary-treasurer. They shall be elected at the annual meeting.

SECTION 2. The executive committee of the league shall consist of the president and the secretary, who shall act with the state superintendent of public instruction, the president of the University of Oregon, and the secretary of the Oregon Library Commission. This committee shall have power to increase its

[1] Oregon University Bulletin. Vol. XII. No. 3. p. 16-22. November, 1914.

membership by two additional members, one of whom shall be a county superintendent.

SECTION 3. (*a*) It shall be the duty of the president to preside at the annual meeting, and at the final contest, and, when necessary, to call meetings of the executive committee.

(*b*) It shall be the duty of the secretary-treasurer to keep minutes of the annual meeting, and of the meetings of the executive committee; to disburse funds upon order of the executive committee; to collect annual dues and perform other duties pertaining to the office.

(*c*) It shall be the duty of the executive committee:

To pair the district champion teams, to choose sides and to make other arrangements for the inter-district contests, on the basis of convenience and least expense. The pairing and choice of sides for the inter-district and final debates shall begin before the conclusion of the district debates, and the secretary shall submit the schedule to the executive committee before it becomes final.

To cooperate with the two directors, whose districts shall be represented in the final contest, in making arrangements for that contest.

To select the question for debate.

To prepare and have printed each year, before December 1, a year book containing the latest revision of the constitution and by-laws, the list of names and addresses of the officers, statement of question for district, inter-district and final contests, with bibliography, and such other matter as, in their judgment, may be helpful to the members of the league.

SECTION 4. The executive committee shall appoint for each district one director who shall be the principal (or other representative) of the league high schools in his district.

It shall be the duty of the director:

To preside at the call meetings of the principals (or other representatives) of the league high schools in his district.

To cooperate with the principals (or other representatives) of the league high schools in his district, in pairing the schools, and in making other arrangements for the several series of district contests on the basis of convenience and expense. In case of disagreement the district director shall have final authority in pairing teams.

To file with the secretary of the league, for permanent record, and for the reference of the executive committee, not later than

November 5, an approved schedule of the debates for his district. He shall report to the secretary the results of all contests immediately after they shall have been held, giving the names of the contesting schools and their representatives, together with the votes of the judges. No debate shall be considered as having been held under the auspices of the league unless the schedule shall have been filed with the secretary as above directed, and the results immediately reported.

To furnish the executive committee all other necessary information with regard to the workings of the league in his district.

ARTICLE V

MEETINGS, ELECTIONS

SECTION 1. The directors in the several districts shall, at any time they deem it necessary, call meetings of the principals (or other representatives) of the league high schools in their respective districts.

SECTION 2. The annual meeting shall be held at the time of the State Teachers' Association. At this meeting the officers shall be elected, each for a period of one year. Each league high school shall be entitled to only one vote.

ARTICLE VI

DEBATING DISTRICTS

The state shall be divided into debating districts by the executive board of the league.

ARTICLE VII

CONTESTS

SECTION 1. *District Contests.*—The district contests, held by teams representing the several high schools within each district, shall occur between the first of November and the first of February. The team winning in the last series of these contests shall be the district champion team. The triangular system of debate is urged wherever conditions permit, leaving the method of grouping by twos in other cases.

SECTION 2. *Inter-District Contests.*—The inter-district contests, held by the several district champion teams, shall occur between the first of March and the first of May. The two teams winning in these contests shall be the two inter-district champion teams.

SECTION 3. *Final Contest.*—The final contest, held by the two inter-district champion teams, shall be held at the University of Oregon at a time to be fixed by the executive committee.

ARTICLE VIII

SECTION 1. The debaters shall be undergraduate students of the schools which they represent, and shall have passing grades to date in at least three subjects that they are taking at the time of the contest.

SECTION 2. The team that shall represent any league high school shall be selected by a series of try-outs. In cases where this seems impracticable a different method may be used when authorized by the executive committee. Without such permission the team selected in any other manner shall not be considered eligible to the district debates.

SECTION 3. At all contests the debaters shall be separated from the audience and shall receive no coaching while the debate is in progress.

SECTION 4. At all contests, in which each team shall be represented by three members, the time and order of the speeches shall be as follows:

First speaker, affirmative, 12 minutes (introduction and direct argument).

First speaker, negative, 12 minutes (direct argument and refutation).

Second speaker, affirmative, 12 minutes (direct argument and refutation).

Second speaker, negative, 12 minutes (direct argument and refutation).

Third speaker, affirmative, 12 minutes (direct argument and refutation).

Third speaker, negative, 12 minutes (direct argument and refutation).

Closer, negative, 6 minutes (rebuttal and summary).

Closer, affirmative, 6 minutes (rebuttal and summary).

SECTION 5. At all contests, in which each team shall be represented by two members, the time and order of the speeches shall be as follows:

First speaker, affirmative, 15 minutes (introduction and direct argument).

First speaker, negative, 15 minutes (direct argument and refutation).

Second speaker, affirmative, 15 minutes (direct argument and refutation).

Second speaker, negative, 15 minutes (direct argument and refutation).

Closer, negative, 6 minutes (rebuttal and summary).

Closer, affirmative, 6 minutes (rebuttal and summary).

No new argument allowed in either of the last two speeches.

SECTION 6. There shall be no cheering while any debater is speaking and the chairmen or presiding officer shall make this announcement before the debate and shall use all means to enforce the rule. In cases of cheering, time so consumed may be made up to the speaker at the discretion of the chairman or presiding officer.

ARTICLE IX

SECTION 1. At each contest there shall be three judges selected on the basis of capability and impartiality; and so far as possible, they shall be non-local. The principals of any two contesting schools may by mutual agreement, however, decide upon one judge to determine the issue, provided that three judges must be selected in all cases where the principals cannot agree upon one judge.

SECTION 2. The judges for inter-district debates shall be appointed by the executive committee, but in no case shall a member of said committee take part in the selection of judges in a case where he is personally interested. For the district contests, the principals of the two schools represented shall select the judges as follows: The principal of the visiting school shall submit a list of nine judges to the home school, from which to select three. If less than this number are satisfactory, the principal of the home school shall present a like list for selection, and so on until three mutually satisfactory judges are selected. The consideration of judges shall be taken up a month or more before the contest, and if possible, the final selection shall be made not less than a week before the debate.

SECTION 3. As soon as the judges shall be selected, they shall be supplied each with a copy of "How to Judge a Debate." Copies can be secured from the district directors or from the secretary of the league.

SECTION 4. During the debate the judges shall sit apart from one another. They shall take into consideration argument, rebuttal, and effectiveness, and shall base their decision

on the merits of the debate and not on the merits of the question. Each judge at the conclusion of the contest, without consulation with any other judge, shall write on a card the word "affirmative" or "negative," seal it in an envelope, and deliver it to the presiding officer, who shall open the envelopes in sight of the two leaders, and then announce to the audience the decision.

The following score card shall be handed each judge, for his private use, and shall not be handed in with the judge's final vote:

(FACE)

SCORE CARD FOR PRIVATE USE OF JUDGES IN OREGON HIGH SCHOOL DEBATING LEAGUE

(Not to be handed in with vote.)

Affirmative.	Argument.	Rebuttal.	Effectiveness.	Total.
First speaker..	.....	.....	.....	.....
Second speaker	.....	.....	.....	.....
Third speaker..	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total	.....	.....	.....	.....

Negative.	Argument.	Rebuttal.	Effectiveness.	Total
First speaker..	.....	.....	.....	.....
Second speaker	.....	.....	.....	.....
Third speaker..	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total	.....	.....	.....	.....

N. B.—The marking shall be on a basis of 100 per cent. Not more than 100 points and not less than 60 points shall be given for each of the three divisions: Argument, Rebuttal, and Effectiveness.

(BACK)

INSTRUCTIONS TO JUDGES

I. The judges shall sit apart from one another, and shall at the conclusion of the debate, without consultation, write on a separate card the word "affirmative" or "negative," seal in an envelope and hand to the presiding officer.

II. Each debater shall be marked under the three heads as

indicated at the bottom of the face of the score card. The affirmative shall give the final rebuttal speech, at which time the speaker will be given credit for rebuttal.

III. Definition of terms:

Argument means the substance and value of the proof offered and its skilful use in the discussion.

Rebuttal means impromptu argument used to refute the direct argument of the opening side.

Effectiveness means the combination of good English with pleasing delivery.

IV. Decision should be based on the merits of the debate and not on the merits of the question.

V. No judge shall under any circumstances give a consolation vote.

ARTICLE X

EXPENSES

SECTION 1. In all triangular and dual contests, both district and inter-district, in which each school is represented by an affirmative and a negative team, the expenses of the judges, and the hotel bills and railway mileage of the visiting teams (the three—or two, as the case may be—debaters and one member of the high school faculty) shall be pooled and borne equally by the competing schools. Immediately after each contest, each school shall submit an itemized account of its expenses to the director of the district, or some one appointed by him. The director shall add the total expenses, divide them proportionately, and make such collections and reimbursements as may be necessary to effect an equitable adjustment of expense burdens. In all contests which involve a single debate, the principals of competing schools shall mutually agree upon an equitable division of expenses. The consideration of this question shall be taken up a month or more before the contest. If a satisfactory agreement shall not have been reached at least two weeks before the contest, the question shall be referred to the district director for final adjudication and settlement. In case the schools of any district may be able to agree upon some other more satisfactory system, they shall not be bound by this section in their intra-district contests.

SECTION 2. Whenever two competing teams may find it more convenient or less expensive to meet at some halfway point, the

two schools represented by these teams shall share equally the expense, or make some special arrangements for defraying the expenses of that particular debate.

SECTION 3. At the final contest the university shall pay the expenses of the judges and the hotel bills and traveling expenses of the two teams.

ARTICLE XI

AMENDMENTS

This constitution and by-laws may be amended at any annual meeting by a majority of the league high schools present. But no school shall have more than one vote. Amendments may also be made at any time by majority vote of the executive committee, subject to ratification at the next annual meeting.

BY-LAWS

1. It shall be considered improper to entertain judges before the contest at any place other than the hotel.

2. After arrangements for any preliminary debate are concluded, the statement of the question for debate may be changed with the consent of the teams concerned. But the team desiring the change must restate the question and secure the consent of the other team.

3. It shall be considered dishonorable for one school to visit the debates of another school when these two schools are likely to meet on the same question.

4. It shall be considered dishonorable for any debater, in any manner, to plagiarize his speech.

5. The question for intra-district debates shall be the district question selected by the executive committee, or, it may be a question selected by the principals of the contesting schools; but in no case shall an intra-district question be the same as the state and inter-district question, unless specially authorized by the executive committee. These restrictions do not apply to try-outs within the school.

6. The inter-district question shall be the same as the state question.

7. Countries with less than seventy-five high school students registered in all the schools of the county may enter the league

with a team selected by a series of try-outs from all the high schools of the county.

8. The "University of Oregon Cup" shall become the permanent property of the school winning it three times. A "League Cup'" shall be given to the school failing to hold the "University of Oregon Cup" a second year, said "League Cup" to be held permanently by the school.

9. Each school shall appoint a timekeeper. The two timekeepers shall sit directly in front of the speakers, and shall enforce the time limit and shall give such warning as the leader of each team shall direct.

d. Model Contract for a Triangular League[1]

In order to assist those high schools which may contemplate forming triangular leagues, the following contract used by the University of Washington in its triangular leagues is set forth in full. It covers all of the essential points and may be adapted to suit the needs of any triangular league, either of high schools or of non-scholastic organizations.

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT

ARTICLE I.—ORGANIZATION

Section 1. There is hereby created a Triangular Debating League, consisting of the University (high school or club) of A, University of B, and University of C.

Section 2. There shall be a secretary of the league, who shall conduct its correspondence. For the school year of 1913-1914, the University of C shall appoint the secretary; the University of B shall have the appointment the second year; and the University of A for the third year; and so continuing.

ARTICLE II.—CHOOSING THE QUESTION

Section 1. On October first each institution shall submit one general subject for debate to the secretary, who shall on receipt of them send the subjects so submitted to each institution. Each university shall mark the subjects in the order in which they are

[1] Jones, L. Manual for Debaters. p. 22-6. Univ. of Wash. 1913.

preferred, 1, 2, 3, and return by October 10th to the secretary, who shall compute the vote, allowing one credit for each first choice, two for each second choice, and three for each third choice. The subject receiving the least number of credits shall be the one for framing into the question for debate.

SECTION 2. In case no general subject receives a plurality of credits, the secretary shall choose the subject for debate; but he shall not choose the subject submitted by the institution he represents.

SECTION 3. On or before October 15th the secretary shall submit the subject so chosen to each institution in the league; and on October 25th each institution shall mail to the secretary the wording of such subject into a question for debate which is most approved by such institution.

SECTION 4. Upon receipt of these questions the secretary shall mail to each institution the three questions so formed; and each institution shall vote as follows: First, for the question most preferred for debate; second, for the question preferred second; third, for the question preferred third. Credits shall be allowed the same as in choosing the general subject.

SECTION 5. The vote shall be returned at once to the secretary and the question receiving the least number of credits shall be the one used in the debate. In case no question receives a plurality of credits the question shall be chosen in the same manner as the general subject.

SECTION 6. The question shall be chosen and submitted to each institution not later than November 5.

ARTICLE III.—TEAMS

SECTION 1. Each institution shall have two teams which shall support the opposite sides of the question.

SECTION 2. The affirmative team shall remain at home and the negative team shall go abroad.

SECTION 3. Each team shall consist of two members, but no one shall be chosen who is not a regularly matriculated undergraduate student doing full work, matriculated at least three months previous to the date of the debate

SECTION 4. At least three weeks before the debate the president of each university shall send to the other universities statements of eligibility of the debaters.

ARTICLE IV.—THE CONTEST

SECTION 1. The schedule of debates shall be as follows:

1913

University of A vs. University of B at University of B.
University of B vs. University of C at University of C.
University of A vs. University of C at University of A.

1914

University of B vs. University of C at University of B.
University of A vs. University of C at University of C.
University of A vs. University of B at University of A.
And they shall so alternate in after years.

SECTION 2. The date of the contest shall be mutually agreed upon each year.

SECTION 3. Each debater shall be allowed two speeches—a main speech of twenty minutes' duration and a rebuttal speech of five minutes' duration. The order of speeches in the debate shall be as follows:

Main speeches.	Rebuttal speeches
1. First affirmative.	5. Negative.
2. First negative.	6. Affirmative.
3. Second affirmative.	7. Negative.
4. Second negative.	8. Affirmative.

The order of speaking in the rebuttal speeches need not be fixed, but may be changed at any time by either team; but the negative shall always give the first rebuttal speech and the affirmative the last rebuttal speech.

SECTION 4. The use of charts and personal correspondence on the platform is prohibited.

ARTICLE V.—TIMEKEEPERS

There shall be two timekeepers, one appointed by each team, whose duty it shall be to enforce the time limits and give such further signals as each team shall direct.

ARTICLE VI.—PRESIDENT OF THE EVENING

The president of the evening shall be appointed by the university holding the debate. He shall preside over the debate, give instructions to the judges, and announce the decision of the judges.

ARTICLE VII.—THE JUDGES

SECTION 1. The debate shall be judged and decided by three judges, who shall be disinterested persons not notoriously prejudiced on the question under discussion, not in any way related to the contestants, and not holding a degree from either institution or connected therewith in any relation.

SECTION 2. They shall be chosen as follows: At least six weeks before the debate the visiting university shall nominate to the university holding the debate twelve (12) persons to act as judges, of whom the latter university shall secure any three to act. The university holding the debate shall always be privileged to reject any nominee without assigning any cause, and immediately upon rejecting any names on the list, shall notify the other university of those thus rejected. Meanwhile the university holding the debate shall attempt to secure as judges any three of those not rejected, and, in case of inability to secure the three, shall attempt to secure the others from the new names presented. The university holding the debate may at any time reject any names on the lists, the visiting university always filling up the number to twelve. This process shall be continued until three judges are secured.

ARTICLE VIII.—INSTRUCTION TO JUDGES

A card shall be handed to each judge by the presiding officer with the following instructions in typewritten form:

"The judges shall consider both thought and delivery; but it is agreed that matter is more important than form.

"Each judge shall decide in his own way what constitutes effective debating.

"The award shall be made on the merits of the arguments as presented in the debate, and not upon the merits of the question itself.

"Each judge shall vote 'affirmative' or 'negative' without consultation. The votes shall be signed, sealed, and delivered to the presiding officer, who shall open them and announce the decision."

ARTICLE IX.—CHAMPIONSHIPS

SECTION 1. Immediately following the contest, the signed verdicts of the judges shall be sent to the secretary, who shall determine the winner and notify the three institutions represented.

SECTION 2. Championships are to be decided by summing up the votes and the victories. Each victory shall count as one unit and each vote as one unit, and the institution receiving the highest number of units shall be the champion.

ARTICLE X.—EXPENSES

SECTION 1. The university under whose auspices the debate is held shall have charge of all local arrangements and shall assume all financial obligation thereof, including the expenses of the judges, and the following expenses of the visiting team: Hotel expenses for a period not exceeding two days; but not including the mileage proper, or expenses for berths and meals en route.

SECTION 2. Within a week after the date of the debate each institution shall send to the secretary a statement of its team's mileage expenses and expenses of berths and meals en route, which shall be pooled by the secretary and divided equally between the three institutions.

ARTICLE XI.—CORRESPONDENCE

All correspondence relative to the question and the judges shall be carried on by special delivery letter.

ARTICLE XII.—AMENDMENTS

These articles may be amended with the consent of any two of the institutions represented.

These articles shall be drawn up and signed in triplicate and one copy shall be held by each university.

For the University of A
(Signed) .....
For the University of B
(Signed) .....
For the University of C
(Signed) .....

e. Contract for a Pentangular League

A constitution or contract for a debating league of five institutions can be modeled for the most part on the contract for a triangular league just preceding. There are several particulars, however, in which it would be necessary to change the form of contract, as follows:

For Article I, section 2, may be substituted the following: Each university shall create a debating board consisting of from

one to three members, the majority of which should be chosen from the faculty. One man should be selected from the board to serve as a secretary for the school. These five secretaries shall conduct the correspondence of the league.

ARTICLE IV.—THE CONTEST

It is undesirable for each of the five schools to meet more than two of the other schools of the league in the same year. In order that each school may be given an opportunity to meet each of the other schools in turn, a schedule may be arranged to cover four years as follows:

FIRST YEAR:

University of A vs. University of C at University of C
University of B vs. University of D at University of D
University of C vs. University of E at University of E
University of D vs. University of A at University of A
University of E vs. University of B at University of B

SECOND YEAR:

University of A vs. University of E at University of E
University of B vs. University of A at University of A
University of C vs. University of B at University of B
University of D vs. University of C at University of C
University of E vs. University of D at University of D

THIRD YEAR:

University of A vs. University of B at University of B
University of B vs. University of E at University of E
University of C vs. University of A at University of A
University of D vs. University of B at University of B
University of E vs. University of C at University of C

FOURTH YEAR:

University of A vs. University of B at University of B
University of B vs. University of C at University of C
University of C vs. University of D at University of D
University of D vs. University of E at University of E
University of E vs. University of A at University of A

ARTICLE VII.—THE JUDGES

The following is a copy of Article V of the constitution of the Central Debating League of America, in its contests from 1906 to 1914 inclusive:

Contests for 1906-1907 and 1910-1911

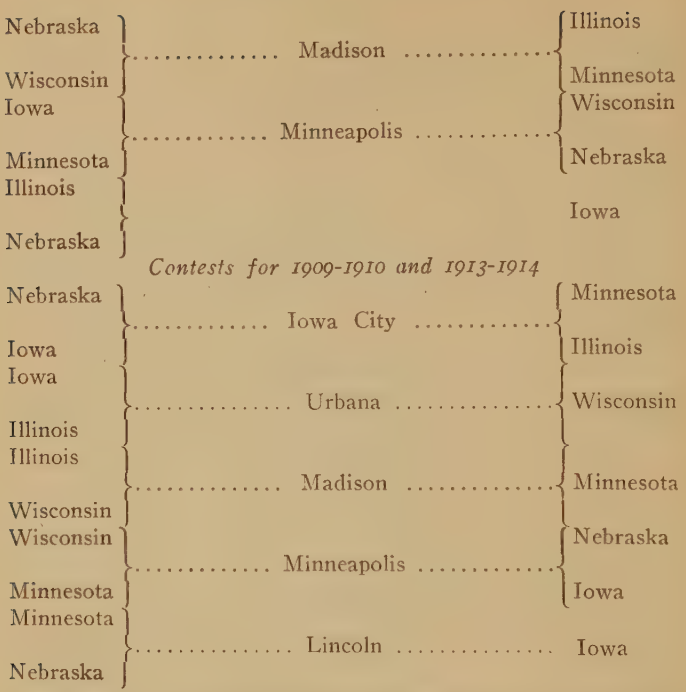
Contesting States	Place of Contest	Residence of Judge
Minnesota, Iowa	Iowa City	Illinois, Nebraska
Nebraska, Illinois	Urbana	Iowa, Wisconsin
Iowa, Wisconsin	Madison	Illinois, Minnesota
Illinois, Minnesota	Minneapolis	Iowa, Wisconsin
Wisconsin, Nebraska	Lincoln	Iowa

Contests for 1907-1908 and 1911-1912

Illinois, Iowa	Iowa City	Minnesota, Nebraska
Wisconsin, Illinois	Urbana	Iowa
Minnesota, Wisconsin	Madison	Illinois, Iowa
Nebraska, Minnesota	Minneapolis	Wisconsin
Iowa, Nebraska	Lincoln	Minnesota

Contests for 1908-1909 and 1912-1913

Wisconsin, Iowa	Iowa City	Illinois, Nebraska
Minnesota, Illinois	Urbana	Wisconsin, Iowa



On April 1 each university shall submit judges according to the above schedule.

When a single state furnishes the judges for any contest it shall submit a list of twenty-four names to each of the two competing universities. These lists shall be duplicates.

When two states furnish the judges they shall each submit a list of twelve names.

When a state furnishes judges for two or more contests it shall make up its several lists as impartially as possible with reference to the distribution of able men.

Convenience and economy for the attending judges shall be a factor in their nomination in so far as may be consistent with the choice of able men.

Not later than October 1 preceding the contest the visiting university shall send to the entertaining university a list of six candidates for judges chosen from the proper rolls. Not later

than the same date the entertaining university shall send to its opponent a list of the twelve judges chosen from the proper rolls. Each university shall arrange the opponent's list of candidates in the order of its choice.

Each university shall have the right to challenge any or all of the number of the candidates submitted by its opponent on presentation of good and sufficient reason. The challenge list, together with objections, shall be returned at once to the sender. The list shall be completed and re-submitted not later than October 20th.

It is further understood that any person recommended for judge who is a relative, actual or prospective, of an contestant, or who is an alumnus of either university, or who holds or has held, any official relation with either university may be rejected.

The secretary of the entertaining university shall notify the judges by a joint note, the form of which shall be as follows:

The state universities of ..... and.....

will hold a joint debate at ..... on.....

The specific wording of the proposition for debate is: Resolved, That, etc.

We shall consider ourselves especially favored if you can be with us at ..... to hear and judge this contest. (Insert a sentence here stating the names of the other judges who have been invited or who consented to serve.)

We shall of course meet your entire expense. Trusting that we may have an early and favorable reply, we remain,

Respectfully yours,.....

A. B., University of .....

C. D., University of .....

The entertaining university shall sign the names of both secretaries to the letter and shall enclose a stamped envelope addressed to each for the reply.

Before the contest the judges shall be entertained at a hotel and every semblance of an effort to influence them will be regarded as dishonorable conduct.

The secretary will secure two judges from the list of the entertaining university and one from the list of the opponent adhering strictly to the order recommended by the respective

universities. But if any name or names should be found on both lists they be first invited to serve.

The university submitting a list of names shall always report on the qualifications of the judges in the following respects: I. Occupation. II. Where educated. III. Politics. IV. Religion. V. Official relations with any university of the league at any time.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON PUBLIC SPEAKING, ARGUMENTATION AND DEBATE

Bibliographies

Nichols, Egbert Ray. Intercollegiate Debates: Year Book of College Debating with Records of Questions and Decisions, Specimen Speeches and Bibliographies. Volumes II and IV. $2.50 ea. Hinds, Noble & Eldredge.

See Volume II, Appendix IV, also Volume IV, Appendix V, for list of references on argumentation and debate.

O'Neill, James M., and Others. Argumentation and Debate. $2.20. p. 445-8. Bibliography. Macmillan. 1917.

Pittsburgh. Carnegie Library. Debate Index. 3d ed. 30c., Postpaid 35c. 1919.

This third edition replaces all earlier editions, including the second edition published in 1912, and the First, Second and Third Supplements, covering 1912-1913, 1913-1915, and 1916-1917 respectively.

Shurter, Edwin Du Bois. How to Debate. Bibliography. p. 312-19. Harper. 1917. Out of print

An outgrowth of the author's former treatise, "Science and Art of Debate," [1908].

Virginia. State Library. Bulletin. 8: No. 1. Ja. '15. List of Some Books on Debating in the Virginia State Library.

Books and Pamphlets

Alden, Raymond MacDonald. Art of Debate. $1.36. Holt. 1900.

"One of the best books for beginners."—Univ. of Calif. Exten. Div. Bull.

Baker, George Pierce and Huntington, Henry B. Principles of Argumentation. rev. and enl. ed. $2. Ginn & Co.

Brewer, John M. Oral English. $1.48 (Manual for Teachers. 10c.). Ginn. 1916.

Cornell Reading Course for the Farm: Country Life Series. Lesson 149. September, 1919. p. 95-8. Principles of Debate. G. A. Everett and G. R. Phipps.

Covington, H. F. Fundamentals of Debate. *$1.50. Scribner. 1918.

Craig, A. H. Pros and Cons. $2.25. Hinds, Noble & Eldredge. 1897.

"Important questions fully discussed in the affirmative and negative, with by-laws and parliamentary rules for conducting debating societies, and with a list of interesting topics for debate."—Title Page.

Debater, Chairman's Assistant and Rules of Order. pa. 40c Dick.

Denney, Joseph Villiers, Duncan, Carson S., and McKinney, Frank C. Argumentation and Debate. *$1.60. American Book Co. 1910.

Drury, Newton B. Debating Material. (California University Extension Division Bulletin. Ser. 4. Bur. Pub. Disc. No. 1. 8p. October, 1914.) Out of print.

Describes briefly the sources of reference material in such a manner as to enable the student to know how to go to work intelligently. A list of general reference works is included.

Esenwein, J. Berg. How to Attract and Hold an Audience. $1.50. Hinds, Noble & Eldredge. 1902.

Esenwein, J. Berg, and Carnagey, Dale. Art of Public Speaking. $2.15. Home Correspondence School, Springfield, Mass. 1915.

Foster, William H. Debating for Boys. $1.50. Macmillan. 1915.

Foster, William Trufant. Argumentation and Debating. Revised ed. *$2.10. Houghton Mifflin. Boston. 1917.

Foster, William Trufant. Essentials of Exposition and Argument. $1.60. Houghton. 1911.

Gardiner, J. H. Making of Arguments. *$1.60. Ginn. 1912.

Gislason, Haldor B. Effective Debating. 55p. pa. Free in Minnesota, outside 15c. (Minnesota. University. Bulletin. Gen. Ser. No. 14. April, 1914.) Out of print.

Henry, W. H. F. How to Organize and Conduct a Meeting. $1.25. Hinds, Noble & Eldredge. 1902.

Hollister, Richard D. T. Speech-Making. 2d ed. $1.90. George Wahr. Ann Arbor, Mich. 1920.

Jones, Leo. Manual for Debaters. 81p. pa. 15c. (Washington (State). University. Bulletin. Gen. Ser. No. 75. Exten. Ser. No. 8. August, 1913.) Out of print.

Kansas. University. Extension Division. Bulletin. Vol. 16. No. 17. August 1, 1915. High School Debating League. Announcement for 1915-1916.

Contents: "How to Judge a Debate," by Rollo L. Lyman; Constitution for a triangular debating league.

Kansas. University. Extension Division. Bulletin. Vol. 21. No. 15. September 1, 1921. High School Debating League. Announcement for 1921-1922.

p. 15-20. Constitution and by-laws of the League.

Ketcham, Victor Alvin. Theory and Practice of Argumentation and Debate. $2. Macmillan. 1914.

Kleiser, Grenville. How to Speak in Public. $1.60. Funk & Wagnalls.

Kleiser, Grenville, comp. Kleiser's Complete Guide to Public Speaking. $6.00. Funk & Wagnalls. 1915.

"Comprising extracts from the world's greatest authorities upon public speaking, oratory, preaching, platform and pulpit delivery, voice building and management, argumentation, debate, reading, rhetoric, expression, gesture, composition, etc."—Title page.

Kleiser, Grenville. How to Argue and Win. $1.60. Funk & Wagnalls. 1911.

Kline, R. E. Pattison. Argumentation and Debate. 23p. pa. 15c. La Salle Extension Univ. 1910.

Laycock, Craven, and Spofford, A. K. Manual of Argumentation for High Schools and Academies. $1. Macmillan. 1913.

Lyon, Leverett S. Elements of Debating. *$1.25. Univ. of Chicago Press. 1913.

Macpherson, William. Psychology of Persuasion. $2.50. Dutton. New York.

Maxcy, Carroll Lewis. The Brief; with Selections for Briefing. $1.65. Houghton. 1916.

Michigan. University. Extension Division. Michigan High School Debating League, 1921-1922. (University Bulletin, n.s. Vol. xxiii. No. 6. August 6, 1921).

p. 8-10. Ethics of debate.
p. 16-20. Constitution of the Michigan High School Debating League.

Montana. University. Bulletin. State Univ. Series. No. 241. August, 1921. p. 23-6. Constitution and By-laws of the Montana High School Debating League; p. 27-8. Instructions to Judges.

Mosher, Joseph A. Effective Public Speaking: Essentials of Extempore Speaking and of Gesture. $2.25. Macmillan. 1917.

Part II of this Volume is a reprint of "Essentials of Effective Gesture," published by Macmillan in 1916.

Nichols, Ray Egbert. Intercollegiate Debates: Year Book of College Debating with Records of Questions and Decisions, Specimen Speeches and Bibliographies. Volumes II-VII. $2.50. ea. Hinds, Noble & Eldredge. 1909-1917.

For a discussion of the value and methods of debate see the Introduction in each volume. See also Appendices for Lists of Debating Organizations; Lists of Questions Debated; Specimen Contracts and Agreements and Constitutions for Debating Organizations; Bibliographies.

North Carolina. University Record. Extension Ser. No. 22. July, 1917. p. 1-12, 47-70. Public Discussion and Debate.

This pamphlet contains, among other features, brief directions for organizing a debating society and planning the debate, lists of questions for debate, and helps for the debater. A model contstitution is also included.

Oklahoma. University. Extension Division: Department of Public Discussion and Debate. Debate Bulletin. No. 12. Student's Manual of Debating and Parliamentary Practice. 64p. pa.

Largely a reprint of three bulletins "Principles of Effective Debating," "How to Judge a Debate," and "Debating Societies: Organization and Procedure," written by Rollo L. Lyman and issued by the University of Wisconsin.

O'Neill, James M., and others. Argumentation and Debate. $2.10. Macmillan. 1917.

This volume is the result of a complete re-writing of "Argumentation and Debate" as published by Laycock and Scales in 1904.

O'Neill, James M. Manual of Debate and Oral Discussion. $1.50. Century. 1920.

Oregon High School Debating League. Announcements for the Year 1921-22. (Oregon University. Bulletin, Vol. 18. No. 9. October, 1921).

See p. 11-13 for a list of books useful to the debater recommended for high school libraries; also p. 14-18 for the constitution and by-laws of the Oregon High School Debating League. (An abridgment of the Constitution and By-laws will be found in the Announcement for 1918-1919, December, 1918.)

Pattee, George K. Practical Argumentation. rev. ed. $1.75. Century. 1917.

Contains a chapter on parliamentary procedure.

Pearson, Paul M. Intercollegiate Debates: Being Briefs and Reports of Many Intercollegiate Debates. $2.50. Hinds, Noble & Eldredge. 1909.

See introduction p. vii-xxix.

Pearson, Paul M., and Hicks, Philip M. Extemporaneous Speaking. $2. Hinds, Noble & Eldredge. 1912.

Perry, Frances M. Introductory Course in Argumentation. $1.20. American Book Co. 1906.

Robbins, E. C. High School Debate Book. 2d ed. $1.50. A. C. McClurg & Co. 1912.

See p. 130; also Appendix A: Model Constitution for a Literary Society.

Robinson, A. T. Applications of Logic. *$1.25. Longmans. 1912.

See Appendix B on "The Use of Reference Books."

Scott, W. D. Psychology of Public Speaking. *$1.60. Hinds, Noble & Eldredge. 1907.

Shaw, Warren C. Brief-Maker's Note-Book for Argumentation and Debate. $1.20. Ginn. 1916.

A set of forms with instructions to the debater in the art of using intelligently a loose-leaf system of note-taking.

Shurter, Edwin DuBois. How to Debate. *$1.35. Harper. Out of print.

Sproule, G. A. Debating Clubs. (Manitoba. Dept. of Agriculture and Immigration. Extension Bull. No. 61. October, 1921.) 18p. pa. 1921.

Stone, Arthur P., and Garrison, Stewart L. Essentials of Argument. *$1.48. Holt. 1916.

Texas. University. Bulletin. No. 2130. May 25, 1921. University Interscholastic League: Constitution and Rules for County, District and State Contests in Debate, Declamation, Spelling, Essay-Writing and Athletics. E. D. Shurter and Roy Bedichek.

Constitution and rules of the League, p. 13-33; Rules in public speaking and debate, p. 34-47.

Thomas, Ralph W. Manual of Debate. p. 11-160. $1. American Book Co. 1910.

Wisconsin. University. Extension Division. Debating and Public Discussion Publications.

Constitution for Triangular Debating Leagues. 5c.
Debating Societies. 1922. (In press).
How to Judge a Debate. 1912. 10c.
Principles of Effective Debating. 15c.
Triangular Debating Leagues. 1917. 5c.

Magazine Articles

Bookman. 22:528-9. Ja. '06. College Debating.

Century. 82:937-42. O. '11. College Debating. Rollo L. Lyman.

Education. 27:381-92. Mr. '07. Forensic Training in Colleges. Thomas C. Trueblood.

Education. 33:38-49. S. '12. Inter and Intra High School Contests. Leverett S. Lyon.

Discusses the advantages and disadvantages of each form.

Education. 34: 162-8. N. '13. Solution for Public Speaking in the High School. C. T. Mauller.

Proposes a plan of extemporaneous speeches as a substitute for debate.

Education. 34 : 290-1. Ja. '14. Educational Extension Through the Rural Social Center. Henry S. Curtis.

Education. 34: 416-20. Mr. '14. Group Systems in Interscholastic Debating. Dwight E. Watkins.

Describes the dual, triangular and pentangular forms of debating leagues.

Education. 37: 160-6. N. '16. Debating Problems in High School and College. Myra A. Smith.

Education. 42: 39-42. S. '21. Academic Debate: Its Aim and Method. William A. Wetzel.

A criticism of academic debating as ordinarily conducted.

Education. 42: 339-42. F. '22. Academic Debate, Its Aims and Method: Reply to William A. Wetzel. Clarence S. Dike.

Educational Review. 42: 475-85. D. '11. Intercollegiate Debate. Charles Sears Baldwin.

English Journal. 2: 389-90. Je. '13. Work in Debates.

Describes work in debate actually done in one class in the Deerfield Township High School, Highland Park, Ill.

English Journal. 3: 94-8. F. '14. Appreciation and Management of High School Debate. Alvah T. Otis.

English Journal. 4: 15-20. Ja. '15. New Idea in High-School Discussion Contests. Ross F. Lockridge.

English Journal. 4: 577-81. N. '15. Debating in the College Curriculum. Victor O. Freeburg.

English Journal. 6: 108-10. F. '17. New Plan for High-School Debating in Montana. George R. Coffman.

English Journal. 8: 602-9. D. '19. Some Types of Public Speaking. Leverett S. Lyon.

A plea for more "motivated extempore speaking."

English Journal. 9: 147-52. Mr. '20. Game of Debate. E. B. Richards.

How interclass debates were used in one school to develop increasing interest and proficiency in oral work.

English Journal. 9: 212-18. Ap. '20. Reorganization of Methods of Debate in High Schools. Thomas W. Gosling.

Cites some of the objections to debating as now carried on and offers some suggestions for improvement.

English Journal. 10: 35-8. Ja. '21. Neglected Form of Argument. R. P. Sibley.

Advocates use of the dialogue for practice in argumentation.

High School Quarterly. p. 93. Ja. '18. Debating in the High School. R. C. Little.

Journal of Education. 80: 38. Jl. 9, '14. Civic Education through Discussion. Arthur W. Dunn.

Describes the work of the North Carolina University in debate in the schools of the state.

Journal of Education. 83: 319-20. Mr. 23, '16. Evils of Themes and Debating. Robert Hale.

Journal of Education. 84 : 578. D. 7, '16. Debating Club for Grammar Schools. M. A. Seymour.

Nation. 86 : 420-1. My. 7, '08. Intercollegiate Debating. William T. Foster.

Nation. 90: 154-5. F. 17, '10. Value of Debate.

Nation. 94: 456-7. My. 9, '12. Teaching Argumentation.

Nation. 101: sup. 10-11. D. 23, '15. Daily Themes and College Debating. Robert Hale.

Nor'-West Farmer. 39:1533-4. N. 20, '20. Organizing a Debating Society in a Country Community. T. D. Hunt.

Oregon. University. Bulletin. n.s. 14: 12-15. N. 1, '16. Oregon State Library Notes: Aids for Debaters.

Public Speaking Review. Volumes I and II, each containing 8 nos. October, 1911-April, 1913. Published by the authority of the Public Speaking Conference of New England and the Atlantic States, Swarthmore, Pa.

These numbers contain many good articles on argumentation and debate.

Public Speaking Review. 2: 40-2. Debating as a Preparation for Life. H. B. Gislason.

Quarterly Journal of Public Speaking. Vol. I. No. 1. April, 1915 to date. Published by the University of Chicago Press as the official organ of the National Association of Academic Teachers of Public Speaking. Name changed later to Quarterly Journal of Speech Education.

The various numbers of this periodical contain many valuable articles on debating and public speaking. Supscription price, $2 a year; single numbers 60 cents.

Quarterly Journal of Speech Education. 4: 76-92. Ja. '18. Judging Debates. H. N. Wells.

Quarterly Journal of Speech Education. 4: 116-18. Ja. '18. Delivery in Debate. Charles F. Lindsay.

Quarterly Journal of Speech Education. 4: 160-9. Mr. '18. Argumentation and Debate in High Schools. Andrew T. Weaver.

Quarterly Journal of Speech Education. 4: 170-83. Mr. '18. Coaching Debates. H. N. Wells.

Quarterly Journal of Speech Education. 4:263-70. My. '18. Ways and Means of Getting a Student Before a Real Audience. H. B. Gislason.

Quarterly Journal of Speech Education. 4:398-433. O. '18. Juryman or Critic; Three Rebuttal Arguments and a Decision. H. M. Wells; J. M. O'Neill; L. R. Sarett.

Quarterly Journal of Speech Education. 5: 101-19. Mr. '19. Persuasion: Principles and Method. Charles H. Woolbert.

Quarterly Journal of Speech Education. 6: 69-72. Ap. '20. Emancipation of the Contest Coach. Nona Macquilkin.

Quarterly Journal of Speech Education. 7: 149-57. Ap. 21. Graphic Interpretation of the Proposition for Debate. Adolph H. Brick.

Selecting the proposition for debate.

Quarterly Journal of Speech Education. 7: 261-71. Je. '21. Problems in Teaching Debate. G. Rowland Collins.

Quarterly Journal of Speech Education. 7: 279-91. Je. '21. Decisionless Debate with the Open Forum.

Recounts the experiences of six mid-western universities in conducting debates without judges.

Quarterly Journal of Speech Education. 8: 181-3. Ap. '22. Measuring the Reaction of the Audience to an Argumentative Speech. William E. Utterbach.

School Review. 19: 534-45; 20: 120-4. O. '11; F. '12 . Debating in the High School. Bertha Lee Gardner.

School Review. 19: 546-9. O. '11. Motivation of Debate in Our Secondary Schools. A. Monroe Stowe.

School Review. 19: 689-93. D. '11. Debating in the High School. E. C. Hartwell.

A criticism of Miss Gardiner's article.

School Review. 20: 379-82. Je. '12. New Plan for a Contest in Public Speaking. S. H. Clark.

Scribner's Magazine. 47: 378-9. Mr. '10. Matter of Debate.

United States. Bureau of Education. Bulletin, 1914, No. 19. University Extension in the United States. Louis E. Reber.

See p. 38-41 for a list of the departments of debating and public discussion that send out package libraries to the citizens of their respective states.

APPENDIX B

SUBJECT INDEX TO BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS CONTAINING COMPLETE DEBATES, REFERENCES, BRIEFS, AND SIMILAR MATERIAL FOR DEBATES

List of Books and Pamphlets Indexed

Abridged Debaters' Handbook Series.

A series of pamphlets, each of which contains affirmative and negative briefs, references and reprints of selected articles on popular subjects for debate. 25c.-75c. ea. Published by The H. W. Wilson Co. (Succeeded by The Reference Shelf.)

American City. (T. and C. ed.) O. '16. p. 381-2.

Arnold, John H. Debaters' Guide. 25c. Trade supplied by J. S. Latta, Cedar Falls, Iowa. 1916.

Askew, John Bertram. Pros and Cons: A Newspaper Reader's and Debater's Guide to the Leading Controversies of the Day. 6th ed. rev. and rewritten by Hilderic Cousens. 2s. 6d. Dutton. 1920.

Both Sides: Briefs for Debate on Important Questions of the Day. Prepared for the Use of Schools, Debating Societies and Lyceums, by the Independent. Reprinted from the weekly issues. 25c. 1916.

Subjects: Single six-year term for president; Death penalty; Price maintenance; Minimum wage legislation; Mothers' pensions; Who is responsible for the war; Shall we have a government-owned merchant marine; Shall we enlarge our army; Convict labor in the United States; Problem of the trusts; Monroe doctrine; Military training for college students; Embargo on arms; Mexico and the United States.

Brooklyn, N.Y. Public Library. Bulletin. 2: 133-6. My. '19. League of Nations Idea.

Bulletin of Bibliography. Jl.-O. '10, Ap. '12, and Jl.-O. '15.

Bureau of Railway Economics. List of Publications Pertaining to Government Ownership of Railways. 74p. Washington, D. C. 1914.

Three more recent lists were issued in mimeographed form during 1919.

Carpenter, Oliver Clinton. Debate Outlines on Public Questions. $1.00. Broadway Pub. 1912.

Cleveland. Municipal Reference Library. City Manager Plan. Comprehensive List of References. 37p. Typew. $1.85. 1917. (Obtainable only thru the Public Affairs Information Service, New York.)

Cornell Reading Course for the Farm: Country Life Series. Lesson 149. September, 1919. Principles of Debate. G. A. Everett and G. R. Phipps.

Craig, A. H. Pros and Cons. $2.25. Hinds, Noble & Eldredge. 1897.

Danner, Vernice E. Danner's Book of Debates. pa. Series I. 25c.; Series II, 35c. Coffey-Danner Co., Oklahoma City, Okla.

Debaters' Handbook Series.

This series consists of a number of volumes, each containing briefs, bibliographies and selected articles from books and periodicals, on popular subjects for debate. Cloth, $1.25-$2.25 ea. The H. W. Wilson Co.

Denver. Public Library. Bibliographies on Debate Lists Submitted in October, 1916, by Denver Schools. 3p. Typew. (Obtained only thru Public Affairs Information Service. New York.)

A bibliography of bibliographies on subjects for Denver school debates, 1916-1917.

Detroit (Mich.) Public Library. Selected List of References on Employment of Women in War Industries. 4p. Typew. 20c. 1917. (Obtainable only thru the Public Affairs Information Service.)

Handbook Series.

Each volume in this series contains a bibliography and reprints of the best available material on popular questions of the day. $1.25-$2.40 ea. For sale by The H. W. Wilson Co.

Idaho. University. Bulletin. Vol. xvi. No. 1. January, 1921. High School Debating, 1920-1921.

Independent. April 17, 1913-May 5, 1917.

Indiana. University. Extension Division. State High School Discussion League Announcements, 1919-1920 and 1921-1922. (University Bulletins for October, 1919 and December, 1921.)

Intercollegiate Debates on Direct Primaries. pa. 50c. Four Seas Co. 1911.

Iowa Patriotic League. Bibliography: Addendum No. 1. (Iowa. University. Extension Division. Bulletin. No. 48. My 15, 1919.)

Iowa. University. Extension Bulletin. No. 74. September 1, 1921. Iowa High School Public Speaking Contests.

Kansas. University Extension Division. High School Debating League, Announcement for 1915-1916 (University. Bulletin. August 1, 1915); 1918-1919 (August 1, 1918); 1919-1920 (August 1, 1919); 1920-1921 (September 1, 1920); and 1921-1922 (September 1, 1922.)

League of Nations: Outlines for Discussion. 11p. pa. National Committee on the Churches and the Moral Aims of the War. 70 5th Avenue, New York.

League of Nations. Vol. II. Special No. Peace and Reconstruction: Preliminary Bibliography, Prepared by the National Board for Historical Service.

Library of Congress.

Lists of references on many popular subjects, compiled under the direction of the Chief Bibliographer. These may be secured from the Superintendent of Documents at the prices indicated after each list, except in the case of the typewritten ones which may be secured only thru the Public Affairs Information Service. These may be distinguished by the symbol (P.A.I.S.) at the end of the entry.

Literary Digest. F. 26, '16. p. 509-10.

Lyon, Leverett S. Elements of Debating. *$1.25. University of Chicago Press. 1913.

Mabie, Edward Charles. University Debaters' Annual: Constructive and Rebuttal Speeches Delivered in the Intercollegiate Debates of American Colleges and Universities during the College Year. Vol. I. 1914-1915. Out of print. Vol. II. 1915-1916. $1.80. H. W. Wilson Co.

Merry, Glen. The Several States Should Adopt a System of Compulsory Industrial Insurance for Accident and Sickness Risks. 11p. Typew. 55c. 1916. (Obtainable only thru the Public Affairs Information Service, New York.)

Michigan. University. Extension Division. High School Debating League, 1921-1922. (Michigan. University. Bulletin. n.s. Vol. xxiii. No. 6. August 6, 1921.)

Montana. University Extension Department. Montana High School Debating League. August, 1918, August, 1919, August, 1920 and August, 1921.

New England Triangular League.

Courts and Social Reform: Constructive and rebuttal Speeches of the Representatives of Brown University, Dartmouth College and Williams College, in the yearly debates of the League for 1912-1913. Edited by E. Hamilton Mabie. 67p. pa. $1. The H. W. Wilson Co. 1913.

Nichols, Egbert Ray. Intercollegiate Debates: Yearbook of College Debating with Records of Questions and Decisions, Specimen Speeches and Bibliographies. Volumes II-VII. $2.50 ea. Hinds, Noble & Eldredge. 1909-1917.

North Carolina. University. Extension Bulletin. Vol. 1. No. 8. December 16, 1921. League of Nations.

North Carolina. University Record. Extension Series No. 5. November, 1913, No. 6, January, 1914, No. 11, November, 1914, and No. 40, November, 1920.

North Dakota. University. Extension Division. High School Debating League. Announcements. Issued as separates in the Bulletin series published by the University.

Oklahoma. University.

Bulletins, published by the Department of Public Discussion and Debate and also by the Department of Public Information and Welfare, of the University Extension Division, each containing collections of facts and arguments on both sides of public questions.

Pattee, George K. Practical Argumentation. rev. ed. $1.75. Century. 1917.

Pearson, Paul M. Intercollegiate Debates: Being Briefs and Reports of Many Intercollegiate Debates. $2.50. Hinds, Noble & Eldredge. 1909.

Phelps, Edith M. University Debaters' Annual: Constructive and Rebuttal Speeches Delivered in the Intercollegiate Debates of American Colleges and Universities during the College Year. Vol. III. 1916-1917 and Vol. IV. 1917-1918. Out of print. Vol. V. 1918-1919. $1.80. Vol. VI. 1919-1920; Vol. VII. 1920-1921; Vol. VIII. 1921-1922. $2.25 ea. H. W. Wilson Co.

Public Speaking Review. 2: 43-50. Recall of Judges: Briefs of the Negative Speeches of the University of California Teams in the Debate of 1912-1913 with Leland Stanford Junior University.

Reference Shelf.

Pamphlets containing briefs, bibliographies and selected articles on subjects for debate. Av. price 75c. ea. The H. W. Wilson Co.

Ringwalt, Ralph C. Briefs on Public Questions. *$1.50. Longmans. 1913.

Robbins, E. C. High School Debate Book. 2d ed. $1.50. A. C. McClurg & Co. 1912.

Rowton, Frederic. How to Conduct a Debate. pa. 50c. Dick & Fitzgerald.

This is the American edition, revised by W. Taylor, of "The Debater" published by Longmans, Green & Co. in 1910. Indexed for a few subjects only.

St. Louis, Mo. Public Library. Bulletin p. 65. F. 19. League of Nations: Bibliography.

Shurter, Edwin DuBois, and Taylor, Carl Cleveland. Both Sides of 100 Public Questions Briefly Debated. $2. Hinds, Noble & Eldredge. 1913.

Speaker (The). Nos. 8, 27. pa. 50c. ea; cloth. 75c. Hinds, Noble & Eldredge.

Texas. University. Bulletins. Containing briefs, references and arguments for both sides, edited by Edwin D. Shurter.

Thomas, Ralph W. Manual of Debate. $1. American Book Co. 1910.

Virginia. University. Bulletin. Ser. 1. No. 3. March, 1911. Questions Suitable for Debate.

Virginia. University Record, n. s. Vol. I. No. 1. October 1, 1914; also Vol. IV. No. 1-5. January, 1919; Vol. V. No. 1. October, 1919; Vol. V. No. 9. December, 1920; Vol. VI. No. 5. December, 1921.

Washington. State College. Library Bulletins. Interscholastic High School Debates. November, 1916, November, 1917, December, 1918, November, 1919, November, 1920, November, 1921. pa. 10c. ea.

Wisconsin. University.

Bulletins published by the Department of Debating and Public Discussion, on popular subjects for debate. Most of these contain a brief historical statement, arguments pro and con, and references.

Wisconsin. University. Library School. Bibliography of Junior High Schools. L. A. Sias. 17p. Typew. 85c. 1916. (Obtainable only thru the P. A. I. S.).

Wisconsin. University. Library School. Bibliography on Some Phases of Prison Reform. A. L. Cochrane. 17p. Typew. 85c. 1916. (Obtainable only thru the Public Affairs Information Service.)

Subject Index

Agricultural Credit

Agricultural Banks. Askew, p. 3-4. Affirmative and negative arguments.

Bullock. Agricultural Credit. (Handbook Series.) xiv,177p. References and selected articles.

Library of Congress. List of Recent References on Agricultural Credit. 8p. Typew. 40c. 1918. (P. A. I. S.)

Agricultural College Education

Cornell Reading Course. p. 98-103. Affirmative and negative briefs, references and arguments.

Allied Debts. Cancellation

Johnsen. Cancellation of the Allied Debt. (Reference Shelf. V. I. No. 1) 61p. pa. 75c. H. W. Wilson Co. New York. 1922.

Arbitration, Industrial

Arbitration of Labor Disputes. Carpenter. p. 131-8. Briefs and references.

Beman. Compulsory Arbitration and Compulsory Investigation of Industrial Disputes. (Debaters' Handbook Series.) 4th ed. lxvi,303p. Briefs, references and selected articles.

Danner. Ser. I. p. 3-8. References and arguments for both sides.

Phelps. Vol. III. p. 99-146, 191-225. Speeches, briefs and references; also Vol IV. p. 1-53, 147-91. Speeches, briefs and references. Out of print.

Compulsory Arbitration of Railway Labor Disputes. Phelps. Vol. VI. p. 155-91. Speeches, briefs and references.

Compulsory Industrial Arbitration. Askew. p. 10. Affirmative and negative arguments.

————. Independent. 88:260. N. 6, '16. Briefs and references.

————. Kansas. 1918-1919. p. 21-9. References.

————. Montana. High School Debating League, 1920. p. 12-18. References.

————. Oklahoma University. Bulletin. Exten. Ser. No. 34. O. 1, '17. References and selected articles for both sides.

————. Phelps. Vol. VI. p. 193-246. Speeches, briefs and references.

————. Ringwalt. p. 210-18. Briefs and references.

————. Washington. State College. Bulletin. November, 1920. References.

The Government Should Settle all Disputes between Capital and Labor. Craig. p. 556-64. Outlines.

Arbitration, International

An International Court for all International Disputes. Shurter. Both Sides. p. 252-4. Arguments and references.

Library of Congress. List of References. 151p. 20c. 1908.

Reely. World Peace, Including International Arbitration and Disarmament. (Debaters' Handbook Series.) xxv,199p. Briefs, references and selected articles. Out of print.

See also League of Nations; League to Enforce Peace; Peace.

Army (United States). Increase

The Army Should Be Enlarged and Strengthened. Independent. 8 : 36. Ja. 4, '15. Briefs and references. Same. Both Sides: Briefs for Debate.

Bacon. National Defense. (Debaters' Handbook Series.) Briefs, references and selected articles.

Johnsen. National Defense. Vol. III. (Debaters' Handbook Series.) p. xxxiv-xxxvii, 59-84. References and selected articles.

Nichols. Vol. VII. p. 337-83. Speeches.

Texas. University. Bulletin. July 20, 1916. Briefs, references and selected articles for both sides.

Van Valkenburgh. National Defense. Vol. II. (Debaters' Handbook Series.) liv,204p. Briefs, references and selected articles.

Increase of the Army and Navy. Mabie. Vol. I. p. 1-180. Reports of debates and references. Out of print.

Preparedness. Literary Digest. 52 : 509-10. F. 26, '16. Briefs and references.

———. Mabie. Vol. II, p. 43-77. Report of debate, briefs and references.

Shall We Increase Our Army and Navy? Wisconsin University Bulletin. 10c. Two papers.

Should the United States Maintain a Standing Army Greater than Actually Necessary to Enforce the Law? Craig. p. 520-37. Affirmative and negative speeches.

The United States Army Should Be Increased to One Thousand for Each Million of Our Population. Thomas. p. 200. Arguments.

Asset Currency

An Asset Currency System Should Be Established under Federal Control. Pearson. p. 191-8. Synopsis of debate and references.

Issuance of National Bank Notes on General Assets. Carpenter. p. 105-9. Briefs and references.

Asset Currency—*Continued*

Issuance of National Bank Notes on General Assets. Ringwalt. p. 143-50. Briefs and references.

————. Shurter. Both Sides. p. 188-90. Arguments and references.

Athletics

Intercollegiate Athletics Promote the Best Interests of Colleges. Thomas. p. 186. Arguments.

Intercollegiate Athletics Should Be Abolished. Speaker. No. 27 : 295-301. Negative brief.

Intercollegiate Foot-ball Promotes the Best Interests of College Life. Shurter. Both Sides. p. 62-3. Arguments and references.

Johnsen. Athletics. (Abridged Debaters' Handbook Series.) 103p. Briefs, references and selected articles.

Library of Congress. List of References on Athletics in Colleges and Universities. 4p. Typew. 20c. 1916. (P. A. I. S.)

Bank Deposit Guaranty

There Should Be Legislation Providing for the Guarantee of Bank Deposits. Pearson. p. 305-21. Report of speeches and references.

————. Shurter. Both Sides. p. 120-1. Arguments and references.

————. Virginia University Bulletin. p. 10-14. Arguments and references.

————. Wisconsin University Bulletin. 5c. Arguments and references.

Cabinet (United States)

Members of the President's Cabinet Should Have the Right to Be Present and Speak in the House of Representatives. Thomas. p. 164-5. Arguments and references.

Members of the President's Cabinet Should Have Seats and a Voice in the Discussion in Both Houses of Congress. Nichols. Vol. IV. p. 1-55. Speeches and references.

Cabinet (United States)

Askew. p. 19. Affirmative and negative arguments.

Library of Congress. Select List of Books on the Cabinets of England and America. 8p. 10c. 1903.

Phelps. Vol. V. p. 1-45. Speeches, briefs and references.

Shurter. Both Sides. p. 144-6. Arguments and references.

Parliamentary Form of Government for the United States. Phelps. Vol. VII. p. 199-247. Speeches, briefs and references.

Parliamentary versus the Presidential Form of Government. Nichols. Vol. III. p. 239-309. Speeches and references.

———. Danner. Ser. II. p. 27-35. References and arguments for both sides.

———. Pearson. p. 367-73. Report of debate and references. Same. Speaker. No. 14: 248-54.

California Alien Land Law

California's Anti-Alien Land Legislation Is Unjustified. Independent. 75: 141. O. 16, '13. Briefs and references.

Campaign Funds

All Contributions of $100 and over, to Political Parties, Should Be Publicly Accounted for by the Officers Receiving Them. Thomas. p. 174. Arguments and references.

Capital Punishment

Arnold. p. 34-8. References and affirmative discussion.

Capital Punishment Should Be Abolished. Askew. p. 23. Affirmative and negative arguments.

Fanning. Capital Punishment. (Debaters' Handbook Series.) 3d ed. xxvi,299p. Briefs, references and selected articles.

Independent. 82: 264. My. 10, '15. Briefs and references. Same. Both Sides: Briefs for Debate.

Library of Congress. Select List of References. 45p. 10c. 1912.

Lyon. p. 128-9. Arguments and references.

Robbins. p. 44-9. Briefs and references.

Rowton. p. 48-67. Speeches.

Shurter. Both Sides. p. 32-3. Arguments and references.

Thomas. p. 184. Arguments and references.

Virginia University Bulletin. p. 32. References.

Child Labor

Bullock. Child Labor. (Debaters' Handbook Series.) 2d ed. xxvi,238p. References and selected articles.

Library of Congress. List of Books (with References to Periodicals.) 66p. 15c. 1906.

Child Labor—*Continued*

The Employment of Children in Factories and Similar Industries Should Be Forbidden. Shurter. Both Sides. p. 150-1. Arguments and references.

Church Unity

Library of Congress. Brief List of References on Church Unity and Federation. 4p. Typew. 20c. 1919. (P. A. I. S.)

City Manager Plan

Beman. Municipal Government. (Handbook Series.) Part III. Briefs, references and selected articles. In preparation.

Cleveland. References.

Library of Congress. List of References on the City Manager Plan. 15p. Typew. 75c. 1919. (P. A. I. S.)

Mabie. City Manager Plan. (Debaters' Handbook Series.) xxix,245p. Briefs, references and selected articles. Out of print.

Montana. High School Debating League, 1919. p. 13-16. References.

Nichols. Vol. VII. p. 109-205. Speeches and references.

Oklahoma University Bulletin. Exten. Ser. No. 43. O. 15, '18. References and selected articles.

All American Cities Should Adopt the Dayton, Ohio, City Manager Plan of Municipal Government. Independent. 86:40 Ap. 3, '16. Briefs and references.

The City Manager Form of Government Should Be Adopted by All New England Cities of Over 100,000 Population, Except Boston. Mabie. Vol. II, p. 145-78. Report of debate, briefs and references.

Closed Shop. See Open and Closed Shop

Collective Bargaining

North Carolina. University Record. November, 1920. Briefs, references and selected articles.

Commission Government. Cities

Beman. Municipal Government. (Handbook Series.) Part II. Briefs, references and selected articles.

Danner. Ser. I. p. 46-53. References and arguments for both sides.

Library of Congress. Select List of References on Commission Government for Cities. 70p. 10c. 1913.

Library of Congress. List of References on Commission Government for Cities (Supplementary to printed list, 1913.) 8p. Typew. 40c. 1917. (P. A. I. S.)

Nichols. Vol. III. p. 1-39. Speeches and references.

Pearson. p. 461-77. Synopsis of debate and references.

Robbins. p. 57-64. Briefs and references.

Robbins. Commission Plan of Municipal Government. (Debaters' Handbook Series.) 3d ed. xxix,180p. Briefs, references and selected articles. Out of print.

Shurter. Both Sides. p. 58-9. Arguments and references.

Wisconsin University Bulletin. 5c. 1911. Arguments and references.

Commission Government. Counties

Library of Congress. List of References on County Government, Including Commission Government for Counties. 11p. Typew. 55c. 1915. (P. A. I. S.)

Commission Government. States

Danner. Ser. II. p. 79-88. Arguments for both sides.

Compulsory Insurance. See Insurance. State and Compulsory

Compulsory Military Service. See Military Service

Conscientious Objectors

Library of Congress. List of References on Conscientious Objectors. 2p. Typew. 10c. 1917. (P. A. I. S.)

Conservation of Natural Resources

Fanning. Conservation of Natural Resources. (Debaters' Handbook Series.) xv,153p. Briefs, references and selected articles.

Federal Control of Our Natural Resources Should Be Further Strengthened and Extended. Shurter. Both Sides. p. 83-4. Arguments and references.

Library of Congress. Select List of References. 110p. 15c. 1912.

The Power of the Federal Government Should Be Paramount to That of the States in the Conservation of Natural Resources, Limited to Forests, Water-power and Minerals. Robbins. p. 65-78. Briefs and references.

Conservation of Natural Resources—*Continued*

The Power of the National Government Should Be Paramount to That of the States in the Conservation of Natural Resources. Nichols. Vol. II. p. 235-80. Speeches and references.

Convict Labor

Library of Congress. List of References on Prison Labor. 74p. 10c. 1915.

Unpaid Convict Labor Is Slavery and Should Be Abolished in the United States. Independent. 75: 494-6. Ag. 28, '13. Briefs and references. Same. Both Sides: Briefs for Debate.

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